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ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

PHILADELPHIA FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

BY MARY GREW.

In these revolutionary times, when the weeks and months pass heavily freighted with great events, we commence each year with hope that, before its close, our work will be completed, and our Society justified in ceasing to exist. And though the hour of the American slave's *full* redemption has not yet struck, we believe it is nigh; and still hope that the year which we commence to-day will usher in its glory.

In our last Annual Report we greeted with joyous All Hail! the act of Congress endowing the colored men of the District of Columbia with the suffrages of freemen; for the bill had been passed in the House of Representatives, and our glad faith predicted its speedy passage in the Senate. The passage of the Freedmen's Bureau bill, and the Civil Rights bill at that time nearly completed, and the apparent determination of Congress to protect the colored man's rights against the violence and cunning of his oppressors, inspired us with hope that they might be found equal to the demands of the hour. The Lost Opportunity of 1865 they could not hope to regain. There was a time when the defeated, humbled South, awed by the power of their antagonists in the field, would have accepted any terms of pardon and restoration to the rights of the States which the United States government might have imposed for the protection of the recently-enslaved race. Had the XXXVIIIth Congress seen, with clearer vision, the glorious opportunity which God had given it to uplift two races by enacting equal and absolute justice for both; had it been inspired by stronger faith in principles, and more disinterested love of righteousness, it would have finished in peace the work of emancipation begun in war, and made its name immortal in the annals of legislation. But it let the golden moment pass, never to return, and left the work, which Humanity demanded at its hands, to be done by its successors in circumstances of far greater difficulty, and against stronger opposing forces. The weakness of Congress and the treason of the acting President revivified the spirit of the rebels, and a new campaign was soon organized under the leadership of Southern diplomatists and Andrew Johnson, for the purpose of winning back all that the Slave Power had lost upon the battle-field. Into this new contest, which the fidelity of the XXXVIIIth Congress might have saved us from, the nation and its XXXIXth Congress entered.

The Freedmen's Bureau bill, which was on its passage through Congress at the date of our last Report, received the veto of the President; and the effort in the Senate to sustain the bill, against the veto, failed for want of two votes. The Civil Rights bill met a better fate. Both Houses successfully resisted the opposition of the President to this measure, and carried the bill over his veto.

This triumph of Congress over the spirit of despotism was hailed with thunders of applause in the Senate chamber and hall of Representatives, and with no less hearty delight by the friends of freedom throughout the land. Another bill, to continue in force the bill establishing the Freedmen's Bureau, was sustained in opposition to another veto, near the close of the session. Our confident hope that the Senate would speedily complete the work which the House began, and invest the colored men of the District of Columbia with power to protect themselves with the ballot, was disappointed; and the first session closed with that duty unperformed. To this neglect was added still more reprehensible action. Bills were passed by both Houses, creating the States of Nebraska and Colorado, under Constitutions which excluded colored persons from exercising the right of suffrage. The action of the President prevented the consummation of the deed, by his veto of one bill, and his withholding the other, which was presented for his signature at the close of the session.

But Andrew Johnson joined hands with Congress, to restore Tennessee to her forfeited rights as a sovereign State in the Union, and to permit her to exclude from the rights of citizenship a class of men who had been true to the Union when she had been false to it; who had fought for the government when she was fighting against it; who had borne up our country's flag in their dying hands, when she was striving to trample it under her feet. The votes of twenty-eight Senators against four, and one hundred and twenty-five Representatives against twelve, admitted Tennessee, and the President had no veto for this act.

The cause of human liberty was yet more severely wounded in the house of its friends, when the Republicans in Congress carried by large majorities the resolution proposing an amendment to the Federal Constitution, providing that, whenever the right of suffrage shall be denied by any State "to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens, twenty-one years of age, in such State." The first section of the proposed amendment declares all persons, born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, to be citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside. The avowed purpose of the proposers of this amendment is to offer a powerful motive to the Southern States to give the ballot to the colored man. The amendment itself says to them: When you shall be restored to a position of power in the government, against which you have rebelled and warred, the nation who survived and conquered in that deadly conflict, with the help of your victim race, will, in the hour of her prosperity, deliver up her helpless allies into your hands, to be clothed with the rights of citizenship, if you deem the boon we offer sufficient compensation therefor; or to be denied such rights, and to be placed again under the control of laws made by white men alone, if such shall be your sovereign will.

To appreciate fully this breach of faith with a class of men who battled bravely under the United States flag in the hour of the nation's extreme peril—this ingratitude to God for our great deliverance from that peril—we must recollect that it was in the power of Congress to propose an amendment to the Constitution which would endow the colored man with the full rights of citizenship, and enable the Federal government to protect him in their full exercise, and thus deliver him out of the hand of his tyrants, enraged by their defeat on the battle-field. It was also in their power to enact the law which Hon. Charles Sumner proposed in the Senate, February 5th, 1866, and urged with all the zeal and eloquence of his noble soul: a statute declaring that, in the States recently declared to be in rebellion, "*all persons shall be equal before the law, whether in the court-room or at the ballot-box;*" and that this statute "shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any such State to the contrary notwithstanding." It was in their power to seize a glorious opportunity, which the revolution had furnished them, to give law to the insurgent States, and wholly wrest from their cruel grasp the helpless millions whom they had trampled in the dust, and uplift those innocent victims of tyranny—those faithful, heroic allies of the United States government to the position of American citizens, guarded and crowned with all the high prerogatives of such citizenship. God and humanity demanded this at their hands; and, instead thereof, they practically declared that the country and the government belong to the white man; and that the colored man is to be legislated for, and otherwise disposed of, in such manner as may best serve the fancied interests of the white race. The Federal Constitution does not suggest the disfranchisement of any portion of the people of the States, and the conclusion is legitimate that all the rights and immunities of citizens flow from acknowledged citizenship. Congress proposes to *amend* the document by adding a clause which, while it declares all persons, born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, to be citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside, intimates that, by incurring a certain loss in representation, any State may exclude from the right of suffrage a large class of its loyal citizens, and that, without such loss, it may exclude another and larger class. With deep regret, we record the fact that Pennsylvania gave her consent to the ratification of this injustice.

Thus ended the first session of the XXXIXth Congress, which opened with such brilliant promise. The vital question in the contest between the spirit of slavery and the spirit of liberty in this nation, viz.: Shall the negro be allowed to protect his freedom with the ballot? they *surrendered* to their antagonists. During the recess came that memorable struggle at the polls, when the men of the North arose in their might, and prononnced their *Veto* on Andrew Johnson and all his works, and said to Radicalism in Congress, "Be of good cheer; the victory shall be yours, if ye faint not."

When Congress reassembled in December last, they came armed by the People with new power. If, during their previous session, they had hesitated and feared to do the bold deeds for freedom which their hearts prompted, lest they should not stand justified at the People's Tribunal in the approaching Autumn, that fear and doubt was wholly dissipated, and December found them free to inaugurate the wisest measures for securing justice to the colored race which they could devise. God, in his infinite mercy to the nation, had given them another ample opportunity to atone for some past errors, by wise and just legislation and action; and, once more, our hearts beat high with hope that the disgrace of our country was to be effaced, and the loyal millions, so long the victims of the nation's cruelty, were to be endowed with their rights as freemen and citizens. Their earliest words and deeds confirmed this hope. On the 13th of December, the Senate took up the bill, so long postponed, which gave the ballot to the colored men of the District of Columbia, and passed it by a vote of thirty-two yeas to thirteen nays. On the 8th of January, this bill, having been vetoed by the President, was passed by both Houses over the veto.* Bills providing for the admission of Nebraska and Colorado as States in the Union, amended by a "fundamental and perpetual condition," that within those States there shall be no abridgment or denial of the exercise of the elective franchise, or of any other right, to any person, by reason of race or color, "excepting Indians not taxed," were passed by both Houses in the month of January. Each of these bills received the veto of the President, and one of them (providing for the admission of Nebraska) was sustained against the veto by a very large number of votes. And among the deeds done for freedom by the XXXIXth Congress, we joyfully record the probibition, in all the Territories of the United States, of the denial of the elective franchise "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude;" and also the passage, by the House of Representatives, of "an act to explain and enforce the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States;" which forbids the sale of any person, as a punishment for crime, or under any pretence. The most important legislation of the session has been the passage of the Reconstruction bill. A bill to provide a temporary military government of the insurrectionary States was reported, on the 6th of February to the House, by Mr. Stevens, from the Committee on Reconstruction, and subsequently passed by a vote of 109 yeas, against 55 nays; an amendment, offered by Mr. Blaine, proproviding for the readmission of said States to Congressional representation on certain conditions, having been voted down by 95 nays against 69 yeas. This bill was returned from the Senate, with some important modifications, and with an addional section, providing:

"That when the people of any one of the said States shall have formed a Constitution of their government, in conformity with the Constitution of the United States in all respects, framed by a Convention selected by the male citizens of said State, twenty-one years old and upwards, of whatever race, color or previous condition, who have been resident in said State for one year previous to the day of said election, except such as may be disfranchised for participation in the rebellion, or for felony at common law; and when such Constitution shall provide that the elective franchise shall be enjoyed by all such persons as have the qualifications herein stated for electors of delegates; and when such Constitution shall be ratified by a majority of the persons voting on the question of ratification, who are qualified as for delegates; and when such Constitution shall have been submitted to Congress for examination and approval, and Congress shall have approved the same; and when said State, by a vote of its Legislature, elected under said Constitution, shall have adopted the amendent to the Constitution of the United States, proposed by the Thirty-ninth Congress, and known as Article XIV.; and when said article shall have become a part of the Constitution of the United States, said State shall be entitled to a representation in Congress, and Senators and Representatives shall be admitted therefrom on their taking the oath prescribed by law, and then and thereafter the preceding sections of this act shall be inoperative."

* This bill was not that which was passed by the House in its first session, but one which was introduced in the Senate, a few days later. It was passed by the House December 14th, by a vote of 118 yeas to 46 nays.

To the bill, thus modified, the House added a provision that, until the rebel States shall be admitted to representation in Congress, any civil government existing therein shall be deemed provisional only, and "subject to the paramount authority of the United States, at any time, to abolish, modify or supercede the same." In this form the bill was passed in the House by 125 yeas against 46 nays, and in the Senate by 35 yeas against 7 nays. The President went through the form of vetoing the bill, and it was immediately passed over the veto, in the Senate, by 38 yeas against 10 nays, and in the House by 135 yeas against 10 nays.

The XXXIXth Congress has been made memorable by the fact that one member of the House of Representatives was brave enough, on his own responsibility, in the presence of the House, and before the American People, to impeach Andrew Johnson, acting President of the United States, of high crimes and misdemeanors in office; and to offer a resolution instructing the Judiciary Committee to inquire into the truth of his accusations. This was done on the 7th of January, 1867, by James M. Ashley, of Ohio; and the Resolution was adopted by the House, by a vote of 108 yeas against 38 nays.

The record of the XXXIXth Congress being closed, the question naturally arises Is the slave's freedom completed and secured? Congress has certainly labored towards this end; and a large number of its members have earnestly desired to accomplish it. They have enacted laws for the security of the personal and political rights of the colored men of the South; they have made it a condition of the return of the rebel States to representation in Congress, that the white and the black man shall stand side by side at the ballot-box; and they have decreed that until that return, those rebellious States shall be under the control of the Federal government. But they have left the execution of all their laws in the hands of a man who responded to them with his veto; who declared the men who were most zealous in their enactment to be traitors and assassins; a man who, sitting in the presidential chair, gave aid and comfort to the murderers in the New Orleans massacre; who revoked a military order which forbade the public whipping of colored men and women in North Carolina; who proclaimed peace when there was no peace; and whose stern purpose is to restore to State sovereignty and Congressional Representation, rebels fresh from the battle-field, so unrepentant of their treason that they still make it unsafe for loyal white men to dwell on their soil, and still treat the negro with insult and cruelty, and who openly boast that they will yet win by deplomacy what they failed to win by the sword. Is the Southern negro's freedom safe under the protection of such an Executive officer? Of Andrew Johnson it may be said that his treachery to his party, his disloyalty to his country, his treason to humanity have risen to such colossal magnitude that the name of Jefferson Davis dies out of men's thought.

It was in the power of the XXXIXth Congress to impeach and depose this occupant of the presidential chair, and they neglected the opportunity. Will their lenity towards him incline him to execute their laws? Let the character of his last veto message answer.

Let us suppose the provisions of the Reconstruction bill complied with, to the letter. Will the freedom of the Southern negro then be secure? The South, restored to State sovereignty, will no longer be within the control of the Federal government, excepting for the enforcement of the requirements of the Federal Constitution; and each State may, at pleasure, change her Constitution and deprive the negro of the ballot which she was compelled to give him in order to obtain her State sovereignty; for this condition is not made "fundamental and perpetual," as it is in the bill which admitted Nebraska into the Union. Or, without such constitutional change, Southern ingenuity will not find it difficult to evade the obligation by the passage of laws which will, really though not ostensibly, disfranchise the colored man. An indication of what may be expected of those States is furnished in North Carolina, where negro men and women are publicly whipped in the most cruel manner, for slight offences, in order to disqualify them for voting at some future day, there being a law of that State which deprives a person who has been publicly whipped of the right to vote.

The temper and spirit of the leading white classes in the rebel States is a continual warning to us not to trust the freedom of their colored population to such protection. The testimony of Gen. Howard is that the large body of Southern men "disbelieve in freedom for the negro;" that "they surrender slavery inch by inch and piece by piece; but they will not give it up altogether, until constrained to do it by the power of freedom itself." P. Bonested, Special Inspector for Kentucky and Tennessee, in an official report to Gen. Howard, presents "sixty cases of outrage, in a limited district and period, unparalleled in their atrocity and fiendishness," committed upon freedmen and friends of the freedmen; cruelties "for which (he states), in no instance, as developed by the testimony, is there the least shadow of excuse or palliation." And then he adds: "I regret to say that these cases constitute but a portion of the catalogue of cruelties. Of the offences reported, there has been but one arrest by the civil authorities. The arm of the civil law has, however, been brought in requisition, quite recently, to release and protect offenders." Officers of the Freedmen's Bureau in Louisiana testify to similar treatment of the negroes there, by the State militia and the civil authorities. The unrepentant spirit of the rebels is clearly indicated in such acts as the unanimous adoption, in the Georgia Legislature, of a resolution expressing their "respect for the character and services of the illustrious prisoner of State, Jefferson Davis;" and by the appointment of such rebels as Lee and Semmes to professorships in Southern colleges. A legitimate result of one of these appointments recently taught the North what degree of protection the colored man might expect when left to the judicial protection of reconstructed rebels. A black man in Lexington, Virginia, was shot and killed by one of Lee's pupils. The murderer defended himself, on his examination, by saying that the negro had "insulted" him. Witnesses testified to this fact; and the judge decided that "the laws of Virginia have always recognized the difference between the white man and the black; that a white man may protect himself from negro insults; and that, though the deed was clearly proven, it was the result of the insult, and he should discharge the defendant from custody." The statutes for the government of freedmen, enacted in many of the rebel States, differ very little from the old slave laws. The statutes of Louisiana forbid freedmen employed on a plantation to leave it for the purpose of visiting their friends, and prohibit their friends from visiting them; declare unemployed freedmen, who have not made contracts during the first ten days in January, "vagrants," and provide for selling them to planters for one year, or compelling them to work upon the public roads or levees without contract or fair wages, unless the "vagrant" can give security for good behavior in such a sum as any Justice may choose to demand. This code also provides for the punishment of persons for "tampering with, enticing away, *harboring, or feeding*, or *secreting laborers, servants or apprentices.*" It requires that freedmen shall carry passes.

Mississippi legislates for her freedmen thus:

"*Be it enacted*, That all the penal and criminal laws *now in force in this State*, defining offences and prescribing the modes of punishment for crimes and misdemeanors committed by slaves, free negroes, or mulattoes, be and the same are hereby *re-enacted and declared to be in full force and effect against freedmen*, free negroes and mulattoes, except so far as the mode and and manner of trial and punishment have been changed or altered by law."

The Florida Legislature has put the colored population of that State entirely at the mercy of the white citizens, by arming the latter and disarming the former; by prescribing the lash as a penalty for trifling offences; by enacting that "failure to perform work assigned to him," "violation of contract," "disrespect to the employer or his agent," shall be crimes for which negroes may be sold into servitude for one year.

In Kentucky, Judge Harbeson pronounces the Civil Rights bill unconstitutional, and asserts that a law of Congress cannot annul the laws of that State. In view of such legislation and decisions, we hear without surprise that in North Carolina six hundred negroes, some of whom were twenty-one years of age and supporting themselves, were seized by the police, torn from their homes, and bound out as apprentices by the County Court; and that in Georgia a colored missionary, preaching to the people of his own race, and amply sustained by the Georgia Equal Rights Association, which receives its funds from the North, was arrested as a *vagrant*, and sentenced to the chain-gang for twelve months.

It is true that the practical operation of some of these infamous statutes is occasionally interrupted by the officers of the Freedmen's Bureau, or the military forces of the United States, where their power is sufficient for successful interference; but not the less on this account does such legislation clearly prove that the negro's freedom will be utterly sacrificed if left in the keeping of rebel States. From the tragedies of Memphis and New Orleans, voices of agony cry to us in warning and appeal, and adjure us by all that is sacred in human liberty, by all that is dear to human hearts, to complete the deliverance of the American slave.

We may not shut our eyes and ears against the unwelcome testimony that slavery has not actually wholly ceased to exist in the land from which it has been legally and constitutionally banished. The loyal Southern men who, at the peril of their lives, assembled in this city, a few months since, and appealed to the North to stand by them in their fierce conflict against despotism, solemnly declared that the negro in the South has, "by the severest penalties, been made *a serf in the name of freedom.*"

Gen. Hamilton, Provisional Governor of Texas, says: "Let us not flatter ourselves that slavery no longer exists."

In Maryland, a sheriff advertises the public sale, for six months, of a negro man, convicted at the October term, 1866, of the Anne Arundel County Circuit Court for larceny, and sentenced by the court "*to be sold as a slave.*" And we hear of negroes sold *as slaves* in Alabama, at prices which indicate an expectation, on the part of the buyers, of being able to hold them. In other Southern States, also, planters, relying on the fatal exception in the Amendment which prohibited slavery, and upon the public sentiment around them, are supplying their plantations with laborers by purchasing men and women sold for crime, and working them under the lash as slaves.

For a remedy for all this we look in vain to the Executive Department of our government. In that quarter there is no more desire to do justice to the freedmen than there was a year ago when Gen. Saxton was removed from his post in South Carolina, because of his stern loyalty to freedom, and his vigilant care of the black man's rights; and when the government cruelly broke its promise to the Sea Island freedmen, who implicitly trusted its assurances respecting the homes which they were so industriously creating. Nor can we rely on the Judicial branch of the Federal government in this great conflict between the spirit of slavery and the spirit of liberty. Recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States have startled the nation, awakening alarm among the friends of freedom, and inspiring with joy the rebels and their Northern allies.

The colored man's right to the ballot is now generally conceded by the loyal Northern press; and the necessity of its exercise by the legally emancipated slave, in order to secure his personal freedom, is far more extensively felt and acknowledged than it was a year ago.

During the last year Philadelphia has been the seat of two memorable Conventions. One was composed of loyal men of the South, who came hither to find an atmosphere in which they might freely speak the burning thoughts which they had found it unsafe to utter at home. They came to tell the North their experience of despotism, and to confer with one another respecting the most efficient method of resisting it. The other was composed of unrepentant rebels and their allies, who gathered for the purpose of making a demonstration which should overawe the loyal citizens of the North and strengthen Andrew Johnson in his policy. The reception which Philadelphia gave to these two Conventions may be regarded as a foreshadowing of the fate of the two principles which they represented. This is the deliberate, solemn testimony of those loyal men whose lives had been spent in the presence of the system of slavery, and who knew whereof they affirmed: "There can be no safety for the country against the fell spirit of slavery, now organized in the form of serfdom, unless the government, by national and appropriate legislation, enforced by national authority, shall confer on every citizen in the States we represent the American birthright of impartial suffrage and equality before the law."

Yet Northern politicians, delegated to welcome them, besought them to repress their official utterance of this testimony. Of those politicians Gov. Hamilton thus speaks:

"When we met in Convention, we loyal men of the South, expected no obstruction to an outspoken expression of feeling. Judge of my surprise and disappointment when I found here a few Northern men who thought more of their own election to Congress, than they did of alleviating our condition at home. They said that if we expressed ourselves in an open manner, they feared they would lose their elections in the North. But we have no such fears. We are anxious to do impartial justice to all men; placing ourselves upon the broad rock of eternal truth."

We quote one more witness, eminently qualified to testify on this subject. Henry Winter Davis writes:

"The negro population must be recognized by the President and Congress, as an integral part of the *people* of the State, in the view of the Constitution of the United States, without whose concurrence and full participation in power, no State government will be recognized in any State which rebelled; or it will remain ostracised and outcast for another generation, and the enemies of the government will wrest it from those who saved it."

Congress, by its recent action, responds to the truth of this testimony. But the ballot can be *secured* to the freedmen, only by the Federal Constitution and an Executive Officer loyal to that Constitution. To obtain such Amendment to the Constitution as will secure it, is the work of the present hour. The XLth Congress has already assembled. The People's voice has bidden it go forward in the work of executing justice for the negro. If it would justify itself to the Nation which has elected it, to Humanity which waits with eager hope for its action; if it is not wholly blind to its tremendous responsibility and glorious privilege, it will faithfully use the grandest opportunity which the Providence of God ever gave a Nation's Legislature to decree and establish righteousness. It will present to the People, for their ratification, such an Amendment to the Constitution as will give the ballot to the negro and enable the Federal Executive power to defend him in the exercise of it; and it will remove from the Presidential office the man who has defied its laws and betrayed the Nation.

To urge upon the people and their representatives this duty of securing by constitutional decree the right of the freedman to protect himself by the ballot is the present duty of Abolitionists. Our work will not be done until the millions, for whose redemption from bondage we have toiled, and prayed, and fought against principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places, are delivered out of the control of their masters and brought within the full protection of the power of the United States. For this, irreversible guaranties must be demanded, and until these are obtained we are pledged to the faithful advocacy of their cause, and may not leave this for other work. No schemes of reconstruction which will leave their highest right of citizenship at the mercy of State legislation or action, after the Southern States shall be restored to sovereignty, will we accept in their name; no endowments of land; no bounteous gifts of education, needful as these are, and blessed in the giving and receiving, will *satisfy* our demand in their behalf. We demand of the Nation that these victims of its own injustice shall be invested with a freeman's power to protect their own freedom.

Nor can we delegate our work to any political press or party, marvellous as has been the moral growth of some of these during the past year. The constant temptation of a political party is to sacrifice its principles to its existence. Martyrdom for its faith is no part of its creed or practice. An impending election confuses its moral perceptions and paralyses its best purposes. We have found leaders of the Republican party in the House of Representatives yielding to the temptation to vote for the admission of Tennessee;* and in the Senate we saw the entire body of Radical members, excepting Charles Sumner and B. Gratz Brown, following Senator Wade in the same path of compromise with wrong. We have heard the *Tribune* and other organs of the Republican party, advocate reconstruction on the basis of the Constitutional Amendment, which allowed the exclusion of the freedman from the ballot-box; and we dare not leave the negro's cause in their hands.

We hail with joy all the tokens of the Nation's moral progress which the last year has revealed. We give thanks for every onward, upward step which Congress has taken; and gratefully record the decision of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, and the legislative action of Nebraska and Tennessee, conferring suffrage on the colored men of those States; the proposal in the Missouri Senate to banish the word "white" from the Constitution of that State; and the declaration of the South Carolina Legislature that the colored people of that State shall be admitted to the enjoyments of the same *civil* rights as those of the white population. We rejoice in the fact that the issues in the great contest are more and more sharply defined; that the monstrous treachery of Andrew Johnson, and the rejection by the rebels of the terms proposed in the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, have elicited from Congress requisitions of higher justice for the freedmen. Our sympathetic condolence with the Radical party in Maryland, over their defeat, was quickly turned into congratulation that that defeat elevated them to a higher platform, whence they unfurled the banner of "impartial suffrage and equal laws," and proclaimed that though beaten they were "not conquered."

Among the signs of the times which mark the progress of public sentiment, we notice the election of colored men to the Legislature of Massachusetts, and the nomination of Wendell Phillips for Congress in the city where, a few years ago, the Slave Power, impersonated in a brutal mob, sought his life.

A Convention of Southern gentlemen, very recently slaveholders, listening with respectful attention to the arguments and exhortations of Frederick Douglass and Anna Dickinson was not only a thrilling scene, but a fact of great national significance.

During the past year we have pursued our work in joyful hope that its full consummation is at hand, and cheered with rich harvests from earlier sowing. The chief instrumentality upon which this Society has, during this year, relied for the promotion of our cause, has been the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, and towards the support and circulation of that journal our funds have been mainly appropriated. Conducted with great ability, uncompromisingly advocating and persistently demanding absolute justice and, consequently, full citizenship for the legally emancipated slave, that journal has a strong claim upon every Abolitionist and every friend of the freedman, for liberal support. The most radical members of Congress testify to the importance of its influence. The success of our Festival of the Friends of Freedom, held in the month of January, enables us to increase our contribution to its support, either directly, or indirectly through our own State Society. We have sent to Congress petitions for such amendment to the Constitution as is necessary to complete the freedom of those for whom we have so long labored; and we have from time to time uttered through the press our protest against injustice on the part of the government, or our grateful acknowledgment of triumphs won for freedom.

The exclusion of colored persons from our city railroad cars, against which this Society and many of our fellow-citizens have for many years remonstrated, is still suffered by public opinion and not prevented by our courts. We could fill these pages with thrilling narratives of cruel outrages perpetrated upon colored men and women, by our city railroad companies, through their employees, during the past year. One of the most wanton of these outrages was practically sanctioned by Judge Thompson, in the Supreme Court at Nisi Prius, when he granted a nonsuit in the case, on the ground that the railroad company was not responsible for the injuries sustained by the colored woman at the hands of their car-driver and conductor.

A committee of gentlemen appointed at a public meeting, held in this city two years ago, remonstrated with the Directors of the Companies, and appealed to Mayor Henry, in one case of ejection of a colored man from a car. The Mayor explicitly informed them that he did not sympathize with their efforts; for he did not wish "*the ladies of his family to ride in the cars with colored people.*" Possibly he was not fully conscious that he was thus condemning the ladies of other families to be pushed with brutal violence from the cars to the street pavement. The appeals of the Committee to the railway companies seemed to be attended with little better results, and according to the published testimony of Mr. Benjamin Hunt, the Committee themselves "failed to be true to their trust when tried by the test of party politics." On this subject the churches and clergy of this city have signally failed in their duty. Eager, zealous, prompt to do battle against the running of our city cars on Sunday, they have scarcely been disturbed by this wicked and cruel practice of excluding their fellow-citizens and fellow-Christians from those cars on account of their complexion. Had they made half the effort to abolish this practice, which they have made to prevent the running of Sunday cars, it would have ceased long ago. But the steady though slow improvement in public opinion has, during the last Winter, influenced our State Legislature, and the Senate has passed a bill prohibiting, under severe penalties, the exclusion of any person, on account of color or race, from any passenger car belonging to any railway corporation in this State; or the compelling of any person, on such account, to occupy any particular part of said cars. The passage of this bill in the House and its ratification by our Governor are confidently expected, and we trust that Philadelphia will very soon cease to be a disgraceful exception among Northern cities in this regard.

Our criticism of the course of the clergymen of our city, relative to this matter, would be incomplete if unaccompanied with honorable notice of a few who have been faithful found among the faithless. Three clergymen, whose names are connected with three different ecclesiastical sects, but whose works prove that they all belong to that church wherein is known neither Jew nor Greek, bond or free, "but all are one in Christ Jesus," have made their pulpit places for the rebuke of popular sins and the advocacy of unpopular righteousness. The persecuted colored man of this country has reason to remember and to bless the names of Rev. William H. Furness, Rev. B. F. Barrett, and Rev. Phillips Brooks.

Grateful acknowledgments are also due and are freely rendered to the *Press* and *Evening Bulletin* of this city for their faithful advocacy of the right of the colored population to the use of our railway cars, and their burning rebukes of the manner and wickedness of the denial of this right.

Nor do we forget the honored names of men who in another field have fought valiantly for the freedom of the slave, and for the full protection of that freedom; who, in our legislative Halls, have resisted schemes of injustice, and have urged with untiring persistence the claims of the weak and helpless. We have frequently recorded upon the pages of our Report the names of such members of Congress; but the roll of honor now, happily, numbers too many for us to transcribe them all, and to select a few would be invidious. The thanks of Abolitionists, and the blessings of those who were ready to perish, rest upon them.

We rejoice in the widely-extended benevolence which has supplied the treasuries of the Freedmen's Associations; and in the abundant labors of those Associations, which seek not only to feed and clothe the freedman, but to educate him to perform the high duties of citizenship.

From our stand-point of to-day, looking backward and forward, joy, gratitude, hope and faith struggle with one another for utterance. The triumphs of our cause loom up so grandly before us; the dawn of America's jubilee has burst with glory so transcendant upon our sight, that our long warfare against slavery almost seems as "a dream when one awaketh." In these triumphs we see the promise of complete victory. Joy and gratitude inspire us with strength for the work which yet remains for us to do. Memories of fellow-laborers who toiled with us through days of darkness and peril, and who hailed with us the glorious dawning before they passed away, bid us be faithful unto the end. One valued member of this Society, a true friend of the slave, and earnest champion of Truth and Right, has, since our last anniversary, heard the call, "Come up higher!" and passed away, leaving in many hearts precious memories of her noble life.* And one who, in the earlier years of our enterprise, was abundant in labors with us, has faithfully finished her earthly course, and received the reward of a commission to higher service.†

The complete and final victory of our cause is certain. We believed this in its darkest days; we are not less assured of it, now, when faith is changing to sight. The light which, from around and above us, is poured upon our path, throws its beams far into the future, and in that light we see our beloved country purged from all stains of oppression, emancipated from all bonds of caste, regenerated by supreme love of justice, ruling itself in righteousness, and sending up to heaven, from every hill and valley across the broad continent, the acceptable worship of a "People whose God is the Lord."

Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society in account with ANNIE SHOEMAKER, *Treasurer.*

1866. DR.	
To Rent of room for Annual Meeting	$ 5 00
" Printing Annual Report	45 50
" Advertising	95
" Subscription to National Anti-Slavery Standard (50 copies)	50 00
" Rent of room for Stated Meetings	9 00
2d mo., 1867. Balance in Treasury	408 21
	$618 66
1866. CR.	
By Balance in Treasury	$ 9 00
" Members' Subscriptions	86 00
" Donations	10 00
" Sale of Articles left from Fair	95
" Donation from Pa. A. S. Society	100 00
1st mo., 1867. Proceeds of Festival	403 62
	$618 66

LYDIA GILLINGHAM, *Auditor.*

* Mary C. Wright.

† Sarah Lewis.

* The twelve members of the House who voted in the negative were Messrs. Alley, Benjamin, Boutwell, Elliot, Higby, Jenaks, Julian, Kelley, Loan, McClurg, Paine, and Williams.

AN IMPERATIVE DUTY.

From the Chicago Tribune.

THERE is no more sacred and inherent right in the supreme authority of a nation than the right of prescribing in the fundamental law the qualifications of its officers, and the qualifications of its own constituents or electors. No nation can with safety delegate or abandon this power to any other body or State. It is a necessary and inherent right pertaining to the supreme power in every nation; so inalienable is it, that the supreme power of the nation must exist in fact if not in theory in that body which has the authority of establishing the qualifications of the electors and the qualifications of the officers who are to administer the government. The framers of our Constitution exercised this power. Political and geographical jealousies prevented at the time the establishment of a uniform rule in the qualification of voters, but they accepted and finally adopted the rule of admitting to the right of voting for Representatives in Congress all those then qualified, or who might thereafter become qualified under State laws to vote for members of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature. That is and has been the constitutional qualification of voters for members of Congress from the date of the Constitution to the present time. Intimately connected with the right of suffrage is the distribution of representation. The old system of slavery succeeded in having itself represented in Congress; that is to say, in addition to the representation which the slaveholding States had according to the numbers of its free or political population, it secured for that free population the right of electing other representatives for the population which was held as property. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution free negroes were voters, or were not prohibited from voting, for members of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature in all the slaveholding States then in the Union, South Carolina alone excepted. The prohibition of negro (free) suffrage is of comparatively modern date. The framers of the Constitution in making all persons voters for members of Congress who by State laws were at that time entitled to vote for members of the Legislature, adopted that rule which approached the nearest to general suffrage, and which, so far as the laws of the slaveholding States were concerned, was not restricted by color, and was extended to all freemen. The abolition of slavery has of course rendered the present system of apportionment of Representatives, so far as the same applied to slaves, obsolete; but it left, without any sound reason for such a rule, the right of choosing the representatives for the freed population in the hands of those who were already provided for in the apportionment. In other words, the abolition of slavery increased the representative population, but did not increase the number of electors. This injustice proceeds from the departure by those and other States from the constitutional rule and intention of having the suffrage for Representatives in Congress as broad, and not as restricted as any State might adopt in its own affairs. The evil has also grown out of the theory that the Constitution gives to the States the right to fix the qualifications of voters for members of Congress, when in fact the Constitution exercised that power directly in the first instance, and provided that whenever a State enlarged the suffrage for the popular branch of its own Legislature, it should be correspondingly enlarged for Representatives in Congress. It was never intended or anticipated by the Constitution that the suffrage, as it then existed, should ever be restricted. The Constitution proceeds upon the ground of an extension of suffrage in time, and it provided that the qualifications of voters for Representatives in Congress should be liberalized and not restricted as universal suffrage became more general.

The Southern States are about to be reconstructed. In their present provisional condition they are subject to the legislation of Congress. That legislation has provided for impartial suffrage in all the preliminary proceedings towards the organization of State governments, and has provided that the same shall be secured by their State Constitutions. The recognition of such State Constitutions by Congress, and the admission of Senators and Representatives of such States, are conditional, also, upon the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment making the number of electors the basis of representation. This, while it secures the country generally from representation in Congress of those denied a political existence, does not restore the original design of the Federal Constitution, that all freemen should be represented in Congress, and have a vote in the election of those representatives. The rebel States may provide for impartial suffrage as a condition for readmission, but where is the guarantee that once admitted they will not withdraw the suffrage from that liberal system and restore the present discriminating rule? Why, also, should impartial suffrage be required in ten States and not required in all the others? What justice is there in making right a fundamental provision of the Constitution of a few States and not making it equally so in all the States? Why compel Virginia to adopt impartial suffrage and not Kentucky. Why insist upon it in Georgia and Alabama, and not in Ohio and Illinois? The people of the Northern States may not adopt negro suffrage separately. As long as each State is left to the choice of doing nothing or making a rule that is not universal, they will choose the former; but let there be a distinct proposition to substitute for the present constitutional definition of the qualifications of voters, another which will secure to all adult male citizens of the United States, whether natives or naturalized, the right of voting at all elections for officers to be elected under the authority of the United States, and of the State in which they may be domiciled, and the people of all the Northern States will ratify it promptly. Had such an amendment been proposed last year it would have been ratified by the Legislature of every Northern State that met this Winter.

There can be no permanency to a system which enforces one rule upon one portion of the country and not upon the other. There is no justice in it. As no plan of reconstruction can be satisfactory or complete that does not include impartial suffrage, so no rule of impartial suffrage can be just which is discriminating in its application to the several States; which makes the election of Representatives and Governors void in certain States unless there be impartial suffrage, and which does not make it at all necessary in other States. There has been an unfounded apprehension in the minds of Congressmen that because the people of a few States, and the Legislatures of other States have refused to adopt negro suffrage, that, therefore, a proposition to adopt impartial suffrage as a National rule, would not be acceptable. This assumption is not correct. Thousands in Illinois who vote to make impartial suffrage part of the National Constitution, will not vote to adopt negro suffrage in this State while other States have rejected it. The last Legislature of this State, which refused to submit to the people a proposition to strike the word white from the State Constitution, would not have hesitated to ratify an amendment to the National Constitution establishing impartial suffrage.

For these reasons it is advisable, and it is absolutely necessary, for the future peace and permanency of the Union, that the country should go back to the starting point, and do what the Constitution was originally intended to do, and that is to secure to every freeman who is a citizen the right of voting. The practice and theory of permitting the States directly to take from the people this privilege are positive infringements of the spirit, if not the letter of the Constitution as our fathers made it, and should now be peremptorily extinguished by a fresh exercise of the sovereign power of the nation in a formal provision of the Constitution. It will not do to postpone or to leave this subject to be attended to after reconstruction. The moment the rebel States are restored to representation, that moment the time for action and reform will close. The failure to make an amendment to the Constitution establishing impartial suffrage as the general law of the land, will lead hereafter to a protracted agitation and strife, keeping alive the animosities and prejudices which should now be allayed, and ending as no man can foresee. Congress should have proposed such an amendment at the present; but, having failed to do so, it will be its imperative duty to propose it to the State Legislatures and the people, at its next meeting.

SOUTHERN RECONSTRUCTION.—The Reconstruction Ratification meeting held in Columbia, S. C., at which Wade Hampton spoke, turns out to be a farce of the most disgraceful character. No freedmen were present of their own accord with the exception of Beverly Nash, one of the speakers, and a few of his followers, who are known to the colored men generally as "black copperheads." Nash's speech was a repetition of former efforts in the same line, and was made at the dictation of certain rebel whites. He receives a salary from them, and is employed for no other purpose than to work against the influence of the radical Union leagues, which are in the control of white Unionists and freedmen, who denounce him as a malignant traitor to his race. He is a mulatto, and was a witness in the Bureau investigations made by Gen. Scott when Gen. Ely was removed from the charge of the Columbia District, at which time he gave testimony in direct contradiction to that of hundreds of other freedmen. Since then he has been entirely ignored by his colored brethren, and has found consolation in the bosom of white rebels.—*Trib. Cor.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 6, 1867.

THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Thirty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the city of New York, at STEINWAY HALL (Fourteenth street, a few doors east of Union Square, between Fourth Avenue and Irving Place) on Tuesday, May 7th, at 10½ o'clock a.m. A meeting for public addresses will be held on Tuesday evening. Business meetings will be held on Wednesday, the 8th.

The Executive Committee feel that, at no previous hour, has the necessity for consultation and action been more urgent than now. The fate of that race to whose deliverance we have pledged ourselves, hangs for many years to come, on the national action of this and the next year. The disposition of Congress—willing to act, but waiting an impulse from the people, the plot of the President and his fellow-rebels to save the Southern oligarchy from its fate; the haste of many men, the business men of the nation especially, to effect some settlement, no matter what, which will open the channels of trade again; the dangerous defects of the scheme for reconstruction proposed by Congress; the imminent peril that, State Rights once conceded, we may find ourselves again involved in an irrepressible conflict between the aristocracy of a "white man's government" and the divine law of equal rights; above all, the defenceless condition of the negro race throughout the South, the horrible barbarities practiced upon it, its blood crying to us from the ground of so many States—all these considerations urge the members and friends of the Society to renewed zeal and greater devotion. Fidelity now may save the nation from another war. Any slackening of effort now, any mistake in counsel, may oblige our children to fight this horrible battle over again. Fidelity now may show the world that these governing masses, taught by the war, are able to do what no nation has ever yet done, root out and utterly destroy, in one revolution, a great national evil. To relax now, to choose a wrong path, may give one-half the nation over to confusion and anarchy like that which has afflicted Mexico for half a century.

Let the members and friends of the Society gird their armor for a final struggle. Let all who can strengthen us with their presence and counsel, and let those unable to be present send us both their advice and such contributions as they can to aid in making the nation wise and keeping it vigilant in these hours. The patriot graves, marching over which we have reached this vantage ground, and this helpless race still exposed to the storms of their old masters' hate, both claim this fidelity of us. The great stride which the nation has made towards a right settlement within the last year, and the marvellous readiness of the masses for thorough measures, encourage us to perseverance. The day dawns. May we be worthy to rejoice in its noon.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, President.

CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, }
AARON M. POWELL, } Secretaries.

THE CONNECTICUT ELECTION.

THE election in Connecticut, on Monday last, resulted in a defeat of the Republican party. This defeat the Republicans had themselves invited. It was richly deserved. In 1865, when a proposition for the enfranchisement of their two thousand proscribed colored men was submitted to the voters of the State, the Republicans assumed the responsibility of defeating the measure. These votes, foolishly and unjustly repelled by them in 1865, would have given Gov. Hawley a comfortable majority on Monday last. The stupid and narrow-minded "Conservatives" of the Republican fold have had the pleasure of giving the negro one more kick and of biting off their own noses. They will get very little sympathy from any quarter in their political affliction. But the resident Republicans of that State are not alone responsible for their ignominious defeat. By the action of Congress in adopting the "swindling" Amendment of last Summer, this result was contributed to. That Amendment, promptly ratified by its Legislature, is the counterpart of the Connecticut policy. It expressly delegates to States the prerogative of disfranchising without limit "male" citizens, for a consideration, and women without. The sequel is likely to prove that that Amendment will bear fruit, bitter and unwelcome to the taste of Republicans elsewhere than in Connecticut, wherever, as in this State, the majority is small. It is "conservative," while the demands of the nation are radical. Like all compromises and frauds, it tempts for the hour and for special ends, but is certain ultimately to lead to disappointment and disaster. It has already given rise to a real, but not yet fully recognized division in the party ranks.

Again the weak and inconsistent action of the Republicans in Congress on the question of Impeachment is a prolific source of demoralization. The proviso for impeachment in the Constitution is of great value for an emergency if faithfully executed. It is, however, a dangerous thing to trifle with. The doughfaced, "swindling" Republicans who are now baulking, and have for months past baulked its execution, will find that in attempting to maintain their dishonest copartnership with the rebel chief and usurper, they have been circumvented, and that elsewhere than in Conneticut they have been preparing for the resuscitation of the Copperhead party and the disruption and sacrifice of their own. Meanwhile, the loyalists of the South, of both colors, will be exposed to continued suffering and misrule, and the peace and true welfare of the nation hazarded. The time is at hand when the Republican party, if it would continue, must move upward and forward, and comply with the full demand of radicalism for Universal Suffrage, North and South. If it fails in this, and hesitates under a false leadership, it will, ere long, divide and give place to a new, more vigorous and deserving organization. That radicalism which has achieved so much in shaping the destinies of parties and the nation during the past thirty years, will not now consent to be cheated or put off by trading politicians. It sought not only the abolition of chattel slavery, but seeks, and will continue an "irrepressible conflict" until it attains the full and equal enfranchisement of the victims of that ungodly system. The party that inscribes Universal Suffrage upon its banner, by that sign shall conquer.

THE bill authorizing a Constitutional Convention for the revision of our State Constitution has finally been adopted. The two unenfranchised classes, colored men without property and women, are not to have a voice in the selection of delegates, or, directly, in the Convention. But their claims may be successfully asserted, if well known and trustworthy delegates be chosen by those who can vote, and they are sustained and directed by the right kind of public opinion. The present is a period of unusual importance for the utmost efforts of all who would secure henceforth a truly democratic State government, wherein all the people irrespective of complexion or sex, shall be represented. It is probable that instead of a revision, an essentially new Constitution will be made. Friends of freedom and equality, see to it that the present opportunity is successfully improved and that the incidents of race and sex are no longer made the basis of class rule to the detriment of the State and all its citizens.

RECONSTRUCTION TO BE AGAIN OBSTRUCTED.

MEMBERS of Congress have not had time to reach their homes, since their adjournment, before a formidable plot is developed to defeat their proposed reconstruction. And it is believed "that President Johnson is the prime leader of this scheme, and that its legal points are made from consultations with Attorney-General Stanberry."

Many well-meaning people, weary with the prolonged delay, and hoping that all will go well, have fancied that leading Southerners were now about to conform to the terms proposed by Congress, and that the millennium of a political reunion with our "erring brethren" was near at hand. They are likely to be again disappointed. Why should not plots in the interest of rebellion be developed? The chief and leader in the White House is retained in place and power, unchanged in heart and purpose. A corrupt and cowardly Senate conspires to give him opportunity. Though guilty of usurpations and crimes which should have caused his removal months ago, he is given to understand that Congress will "wait for something more!" Of course he may plot with impunity. The present scheme is outlined by the Washington correspondent of the *Tribune* as follows:

"The fears entertained by many before adjournment, which may also have operated in preventing a recess until December, are likely to prove well founded. It was some time since stated in this column that efforts would be made to defeat or delay the operation of the Reconstruction law. Those efforts are about to culminate. The number of Southern Johnson men in the city has lately been largely augmented by large arrivals, and the movement on foot has the sanction of nearly the whole of the prominent Administration men of the South. A *petition*, very full and numerously signed, has been prepared, addressed to the Chief-Justice and Associate Judges of the United States Supreme Court, praying for an *injunction* against Gen. Pope, Commander of the Third Military District, and Andrew Johnson, a citizen of Tennessee and President of the United States, restraining them from taking any action in enforcing the Military Reconstruction law until the constitutionality of the bill can be decided by the Supreme Court. This petition will be presented to the Court on Friday next. Eminent counsel have been employed, three leading Democratic members of the New York bar being embraced to aid the petitioners. Reverdy Johnson has been consulted, and gives it as his opinion that the Supreme Court has no original jurisdiction in the case, and that it must come before it on appeal from the lower courts. If the petition should not be received and acted on by the Supreme Court, the petitioners will improvise a case through the lower courts, and Judge Underwood's will probably be selected for the test. The opinion of Reverdy Johnson is shared by Fessenden, Trumbull, Stevens, and other prominent Republican lawyers. Gov. Patton, of Alabama, declines to be identified with the movement, and the Governor of Louisiana has not been heard from; but it is certain he also will oppose the action. It is believed by prominent politicians here that President Johnson is the prime leader of the scheme, and that its legal points are made from consultations with Attorney-General Stanberry. The whole matter is not known beyond the originators, excepting by a few Radical members of Congress."

OUR readers will not have forgotten Mr. Phillips's declaration, in 1865, that "Grant and Lee would yet be the Presidential proposition to *conciliate* the Southern and Northern Democracy!" This proposition, improbable as it seemed then, the New York *Herald*—taking its cue from the Republican conservative majority of Congress, and having hauled down its flag of impeachment—is now urging. Seconding the recent utterances of Wade Hampton, Longstreet, Lee and Beauregard, the *Herald* addresses the conciliatory proposition to the "colored gentlemen of the South" also, and proffers them its advice. It says:

"We advise the colored gentlemen of the South to pay particular attention, in all their meetings and conventions, to preparing for the next Presidential election. They should start upon the right principle, and that is by nominating Gen. Grant and Gen. Lee for President and Vice-President. This will have more effect than any movement they can undertake."

The *Herald's* advocacy of this proposition at the present time is significant, as indicating the position to which the present management of leading representative men among the Republicans will ere long bring those who are willing to follow in their lead.

AMONG the recent shameful betrayals of the public trust on the part of the United States Senate, is the confirmation of Gen. Steedman as Collector of Internal Revenue at New Orleans. As a tool in the hands of Johnson, the colored people of the South have had no more mischievous and intriguing enemy. This is as well known to the Senators who gave him their endorsement as to ourselves. They seem, however, to have bartered integrity for "value received," or expected. The *Tribune*, in commenting upon Steedman's confirmation, says:

"The Senate has confirmed Gen. Steedman Collector of Internal Revenue at New Orleans. It has rejected better men nominated for offices less important. Its confirmation of Gen. Steedman is intended, we presume, as an indorsement of his slanders upon the Freedmen's Bureau, and is one of those surprising acts of inconsistency only to be accounted for by supposing that, in the hurry of the close of the session, many of the members did not know for whom they were voting. Or is it one other illustration of the horse-jockey system by which Radicals and Copperheads have been traded off against each other by President and Senate? And if so, who was the Radical good enough to offset Steedman?"

WE present on our first page this week, the Annual Report of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, from the pen of MARY GREW. It embodies a comprehensive review of the important events and legislation of the past year, as intimately connected with our cause, and presents a very clear statement of what has been achieved and what yet remains to be done, to ensure the complete triumph of freedom and equality for the colored race. It will be read with much interest.

LECTURES IN THE WEST.

MR. PHILLIPS is giving Temperance Lectures on Sunday and in the day time, beside speaking before Lyceums in the evening. The Chicago papers advertised him to lecture last Sunday evening, in aid of a Free Hospital for Women and Children. He writes us that he finds a keen interest in the question of Woman's Rights in many parts of Iowa. We cut the following from the Report of the Young Men's Association of Chicago:

Mr. Benjamin F. Guyton then read the report of the Lecture Committee, the Chairman of the Committee, Gen. A. C. McClurg, not being present.

During the past Winter, nine lectures have been delivered under the auspices of the Association—five by Mr. John B. Gough, one by Hon. Horace Greeley, one by Mr. Theodore Tilton, one by Wendell Phillips, and one by Miss Clara Barton.

The total receipts from the lectures were $5,704; expenditures, $3,974.11; total profit, $1, 729.89.

All of Mr. Gough's lectures, except the third, were profitable; on that, there was a loss of $22.53. The total profit on Mr. Gough's five lectures was $1,442.86.

On the lecture of Hon. Horace Greeley there was a loss of $196.68; on that of Mr. Tilton, a loss of $138.93; on that of Mr. Phillips, a profit of $571.81, and on that of Miss Barton, a profit of $50.83; a total profit on the lectures of the season of $1,729.89.

EX-GOV. EYRE, after a brief examination, has been acquitted. It is not likely that anything more will be done towards his prosecution. He was the responsible leader in one of the most cruel and barbarous assaults ever made upon defenceless and unoffending blacks; but the victims of the conspiracy were *blacks*, and therefore the chief murderer, with Carlyle, Kingsley, and Tennyson (!) for retainers, goes unwhipt of justice.

WE have on hand several communications, and a large surplus of matter which want of space compels us to defer. This will account to some of our correspondents for the non-appearance of their favors.

PERSONAL.

Rev. O. B. Frothingham gave the second of his course of Lectures on Sunday evening last, upon the "Education of Woman." We present a synopsis in another column.

John Bright said, the other day, in Parliament, "I commend the Chancellor of the Exchequer to heed the words, which though not in the choicest English, convey more wisdom than I can hope to utter: 'Deal with us on the square; we have been chiselled long enough.'" Would that some American Bright would commend the same maxim to our Secretary of the State.

William Lloyd Garrison delivered a lecture in the Town Hall in Leominster, on the 20th inst., in which he called on the XLth Congress to perform promptly their duty—"to lift high the axe of impeachment and let it fall on the Presidential neck. And let all the people say Amen! and Amen!" Whereupon many in the audience broke forth in a responsive Amen!

The late Henry W. T. Mali, for many years Consul General of Belgium at New York, has left by his will the sum of $1,000 as the nucleus of a fund for erecting a monument to John Brown. In case the monument is not built within five years, the money is to go to the next of kin to that distinguished martyr.

Dr. Cheever gave a discourse in the Church of the Puritans on Sunday evening last, upon the Rights of the Colored Race in the Constitutional Convention. It was a timely and merited rebuke of the Albany politicians for their unjust and inexpedient exclusion of the colored men, not possessed of property, from voting for delegates. We give a synopsis of the discourse elsewhere from the *Herald*.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Parker Pillsbury, Louisa Jacobs and Susan B. Anthony will address Equal Rights meetings at the following places:

Brockport, Monday, April 8.
Albion, Monday and Tuesday, April 8 and 9.
Medina, Tuesday and Wednesday, April 9 and 10.
Lockport, Wednesday and Thursday, April 10 and 11.
Buffalo, Friday, April 12.

Louis Napoleon, for many years the carrier of the THE STANDARD in this city, and well known for his ability and success as the active New York agent of the whilom "Underground Railroad," is now nearly seventy years old, and, by his own industry and with the aid of friends, is endeavoring to secure and pay for a little homestead on Staten Island. He wants to realize fifteen hundred dollars to complete his purchase. We are sure that among our readers in this city are not a few who will esteem it a privilege to help by their contributions one who through a long life time has been helping others, friendless and needy, of his class, still outlawed and proscribed to a great extent, by cruel and unchristian prejudice. Napoleon was first associated with the old Manumission Society, and subsequently with the American Anti-Slavery Society. He had more or less to do with the office business in this city, through Sydney Howard Gay's editorial administration, and has continued in the same relation until the present date. He was himself once a slave, the property of Mrs. G. B. Miller of this city. He has been one of the most faithful workers for the colored race. We shall be very glad to receive for him any contributions which may be entrusted to our care.

Wendell Phillips is still lecturing at the West to immense audiences. He lectured in Dubuke, Iowa, on the evening of the 23d ult. The Dubuke *Daily Times* gives a very full synopsis of his lecture, with the following preface:

"Wendell Phillips lectured at the Athenæum last evening, on 'The Peril of the Hour.' The weather was a conglomeration of all the disagreeable elements that tend to keep people in their houses at night time—snow, rain, mud, slush and darkness prevailed. Nevertheless, one of the largest audiences ever in the Athenæum was present to hear the renowned orator. Just before eight o'clock O. P. Shiras, Esq., President of the Young Men's Library Association, came upon the stage, followed by a man of little more than medium size, with greyish hair, partially bald, aquiline nose, smooth, thin face, and keen, piercing eye, whom he introduced to the audience, and who was greeted with applause as he stepped forward."

The *Times* concludes its report as follows:

"Mr. Phillips was terribly severe on Gen. Grant. Said he was no soldier as Jackson was—as Wellington was. It will not suffice to say the President would not let him do his duty. Some say he would have been mustered out. Suppose he had been mustered out. In six hours Johnson would not have had friends enough to be seen even on the surface of Washington. We can not describe his allusions to Grant. The whole of that portion of the address was invective, fierce and merciless.

"Mr. Phillips then spoke of the Military bill, censuring some portion of it, and praising others. Upon the whole, the bill seemed to please him more than any other act Congress has performed since the close of the rebellion.

"His peroration was a most eloquent appeal to his hearers to stand by the right.

"Mr. Phillips's fearless utterance of his views and his oratory—cool, dispassionate, deliberate, rich in voice and in language, and powerful in illustration—held his audience as if they were fascinated. At no time did he speak much above a conversational tone, and not once was he vehement in gesture or utterance. Yet how eloquent he was! Applause was frequent, save in the Grant portion of the address. Those who went, through storm and mud, to the lecture, felt richly repaid for it, although a great number may have differed from many of his views. The address was delivered entirely without notes, and occupied an hour and twenty-five minutes."

Mr. Phillips was also announced to speak on the subject of temperance, in Dubuke, in the Universalist church, on Sunday morning, the 24th ult.

Hon. Gerrit Smith is spending a few days in this city. He has recently published a letter, addressed to Mr. Garrison, in which he bespeaks kind words and generous treatment for our "erring Southern brethren." He thinks if we enfranchise the blacks at the North, the objections to negro suffrage at the South will cease. He is opposed to disfranchising rebel leaders, and thinks that disfranchised, their indirect influence will be greater than they could otherwise exert. He also disapproves confiscation, the longer imprisonment of Davis, and the impeachment of Johnson. He holds the North largely responsible, and to be still itself unrepentant for its past gigantic sins. He says:

"I long for a heart-union between the North and the South. I fully believe it to be practicable. But the corner-stone of this heart-union is not (as the Republican party is too much inclined to believe) power to enforce it. It cannot be enforced. A common repentance for a common sin—that, and that alone, can be this corner-stone. But you will say that the heart of the South is too wicked to come into this common repentance. I admit it. Nevertheless, because she is human she is capable of having a new and a better heart. How can she be made to experience this change? I answer, by no power so influential as the example of our own changed heart. Let her see us acknowledging ourselves to have been on a very little, if any, higher moral and religious level than was her own: let her see us honestly and openly taking to ourselves large blame for slavery and the slavery-begotten war, and therefore ceasing from our incessant railings at her; above all, let her see us pitying her for that deep and distressful poverty to which the war—the war of her and our common responsibility—has reduced her, and the magnet of our repentance will quickly draw after it her own repentance. Then, too, because it is but a short step from mutual forgiveness to mutual love, the North and the South, now so alienated from each other, will stand forth confessed and loving sisters. The pity of which I speak would, of course, be attended by adequate practical proofs of its genuineness. The stream of private contributions from the North to the South would not soon diminish. Congress would be glad to vote not a million only, but ten or twenty millions toward relieving the exigencies of the impoverished and suffering South. Glad, too, would Congress be to spare the South for half a dozen years from direct Federal taxes. Argument enough is there for these duties in the single fact that, whilst the South is desolated by the war, the North remains rich. Infinitely emphasized, however, is the argument, by the further fact, that our share of responsibility for this desolating war is scarcely less than her own. But it will be said that the North would, in this wise, be taking upon herself another and a too heavy burden. The heavier, however, the better—for the heavier their burden, the greater the proof which the South would have that the North pities and loves her, and the speedier and closer their embrace of each other. Indeed, this burden would, in a mere pecuniary point of view, be the most productive investment our Nation could make. Were the North and South in this sisterly embrace, there would no longer be any doubter, at home or abroad, who would question the permanence of our nation; and no one of even her most timid creditors would any longer fear that his debt would not be paid; and the most cautious capitalists would not hesitate to lend to her at rates of interest far less than she is now obliged to pay."

"THE RIGHT OF THE COLORED RACE IN CONVENTION."

REV. DR. CHEEVER delivered a discourse on "The Right of the Colored Race in Convention," etc., in the Church of the Puritans last evening. After the usual Sabbath evening services Dr. Cheever proceeded with his discourse, taking for his text the 21st verse of the second chapter of the Epistle of Paul to the Romans—"Thou therefore which teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? Thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal?" The question here submitted by the apostle was applicable to the Legislature of the State at Albany. The Northern people had shown themselves prompt and ready to lay down the law to the Southern States, and were ready to give light to them that were in darkness, while they themselves continued in darkness and committed iniquity before the world. "Thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal?" This question was particularly applicable to our present legislators. We, who say to the South enfranchise your negroes and extend to them the right of suffrage, deny to the same class of people here the right to send delegates to the Convention for the revising of our State constitution. This is a high-handed outrage before God and man. It was one of the most surprising things in the world, with the process of reconstruction going on before us, in the midst of a providential advancement of public opinion towards equal justice to all, to see this prejudice against color having such a hold on the minds of our Northern legislators. It is a high-handed legislative outrage, this recent rescript, and the wonder is that it could be perpetrated without rebuke, and without scarcely public notice being taken of it on the part of the press or the people, on the part of the church or ministers of the gospel. No public notice is taken of the great outrage committed on a large number of our fellow-citizens. Thou who preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? Thou who wouldst compel the people of the South, before permitting them to come back into the Union, to agree to give to every colored man within their borders the right of voting, the right enjoyed by white people, thou must, in thy arrogance and impiety before God and man, refuse to extend the same right to the colored people in your own States. There were three things to consider in this connection. In the first place, the rights of the people; in the second, the responsibility of the masters of the people in the Legislature assembled, and thirdly, the responsibilities of the people themselves in the work of reconstruction. The solemnity of this opportunity to do equal justice to all classes of community should not be overlooked by the churches. Our legislators are the trustees of the people, vested in the people by the Almighty himself; and the right of voting is one of the original rights of the people committed to their trustees, and the conditions of voting are provided for in the Constitution framed by the people in convention, and if the people or any portion of them are defrauded by their trustees of that right, it is a robbery, and the trustees become defaulters, if not worse. This is the great crime and great injustice which is being perpetrated in this State, and it is the duty of the whole people to call their rulers to account, and with the blessing of God they will do it in the convention which will soon be held. In the accounts of the conferences between the people and their rulers in the Old Testament, especially in the great and solemn compacts between God and Moses, all the people were called at the reading of each particular decree to say amen. This was the right of citizenship, the divine right of the government from God to be exercised for the good of the whole people, and all the people shouted amen, to show that they all shared in passing the laws, and undertook the responsibility of obeying and executing them. All the people as citizens have a right from God to the fulfilment of this law, and they have also resting on them the responsibility of seeing that the government executes them fairly and in justice to all. Go to Albany and to Washington, and to the lobbies there, or ask what is the testimony of every individual that comes back from those halls of legislation, who had an opportunity of looking within the veil, and they will tell you that they are nests of bribery and corruption. This nation, now in her youth, ought to be the purest of all nations, with respect to the great crime of corruption in legislation; but the universal testimony is that our legislators are controlled by bribery and corruption, and that our judges demand a reward for their decrees. Legislators and judges are sharper than briers and a thorn hedge in the pursuit of bribery. The right of suffrage grows out of the right of citizenship. All the people are citizens, and the right of suffrage is the primary guarantee of this. By whom should the condition of the vote be settled? By the people themselves, as the condition of their citizenship. The conditions of citizenship are the conditions of sovereignty, and must belong to the people. They are the conditions of freedom, and the people cannot be free if the settlement of these conditions is out of their power. A free people set the conditions of suffrage in convention, and exercised the primary and elementary right of self-government by voting in convention; and the right of voting belongs to every individual of the people as citizens out of whom the convention grows; and the exclusion of any portion of the people from that right is a high-handed injustice and outrage against the constitution, against nature, justice and freedom. If the French or Germans were excluded from voting, that would not take away the right of those people, as part of the people, to meet in convention and consider whether such a law should be altered; and it would be absolutely necessary for them to vote to send delegates to such convention. And what have our legislators at Albany done? Passed an iniquitous rescript which denies the right of thousands of our fellow-citizens to vote. This is unalloyed and perfect despotism; it is committing a robbery under the pretence of legal power. If such things are done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry? This legislative rescript takes away the right of the people, publicly degrades them and sanctions all the oppressions which the white man wishes to inflict. Certain magistrates in one of the Southern States, who refused to permit negroes to vote, were arrested and compelled to admit the right, and the Legislature who would refuse to the negro the right to vote for delegates to a convention to revise the Constitution might, with equal justice, be arrested for such an unjust act against the people and against the Constitution. These legislators in their injustice are acting as the representatives of a huge monopoly. The question, who shall be voters? is the vital question on which the liberties and the rights of the people depend; and the object of a convention of the people was to take that very question out of the hands of a monopoly, of a clique and of an oligarchy, and commit it to the whole people, as the only mode of deliverance from the dominant power of such an oligarchy, who would vote away in succession every right of the citizens forever. The sin of this iniquitous law against the colored race lies at the door of the Christian churches in the land. The ministers of the Gospel have not moved in this great work till it has become too late—indeed their silence has given consent to the monstrous iniquity. It was for the people themselves to settle the question, and on their own behalf, on behalf of humanity and justice, to right the wrong which their legislators have committed. A government has no right to withhold from one citizen what it gives to another citizen. Colored people of New York ought to follow the example of their brethren in South Carolina, and hold meetings to organize for the protection of their rights, and if necessary, subscribe a sufficient sum to have their right to vote tested in the United States Supreme Court. And again, every colored man above 21 years of age should go to the polling booth and insist upon his right to vote.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 2, 1867.

THE seeds of dissolution have been sown in the Republican party. Perhaps I should say that that party always contained the elements of its own destruction, and that it only required the provocative circumstances to develop them. At any rate the development is visible to the common eye, as it has long been seen by those whose habits of close observation have given to their mental vision a clear insight.

The debate upon adjournment and impeachment was the forcing bed in which this seed sprouted. A clever politician here said to-day,—that the party would have split if Congress had remained here two weeks longer. The division I announce is only a question of time. The struggle for the next few months is really to be which wing shall remain in possession of the Republican organization. Politicians naturally conclude that the one retaining it will have a better start, in that it will have the prestige of success. For my part, I believe it may be more advantageous, so far as purity of action is concerned, to organize anew and take a fresh start. Success will, in all probability, be built up on a firmer basis, if the Radicals begin without traditions or policy. The Connecticut election will widen the division. On the whole, it is conceded here that the Republican defeat will help the radical wing. It is so self-evident that a little courage would have carried negro suffrage there, and so have placed the State beyond a doubt upon the side of the new nation, the Conservatives are compelled to keep silent. To see the faces of radical members who still remain, you would suppose that it was a great victory of which news had been received, instead of a defeat. I heard a Western Representative declare this morning, that he hoped Ohio would be served the same way. He would probably have qualified this had he remembered that Ben Wade had to be re-elected Senator by the Legislature to be elected this Fall.

The success of the Radical wing of the dominant party will, in a great degree, depend upon the progress of the Reconstruction movement, and the clearness with which the newly-enfranchised citizens shall see on which side stand their faithful and sincerest friends. The colored votes to be added to our poll are going to do much more than restore as loyal the now unrepresented States; they are to make dominant that party for which in the near future of remoulded political organizations a majority of their vote will be given. It is not possible to ignore what will prove to be a fact,—that the vote of the colored citizens will, for nearly the ensuing decade, hang together under such leaders as they can trust. The struggle then is for empire—the political control of this great nation, during a period of great changes, whose movements are to stamp the whole continent with institutions and policies.

Applications are being made here for speakers to go South. The Radical managers in Virginia, South Carolina, and Alabama are quite earnest, almost importunate, in this wish. They especially desire the aid of able and active colored men, speaking, writing and canvassing. In each of those States there is a powerful effort being made to control the newly-forming Republican party, by influences of the John Sherman, Morgan, Frelinghuysen, Bingham, Blaine order. The men who bowed to the storm—those who crept under the yoke—are now trying to obtain possession. The efforts of all who believe in genuine seed-planting, to the end of obtaining a sound and abundant harvest, ought to turn their attention in this direction. From all I learn, and I daily meet men from all parts of the South, there will be no difficulty whatever in making the colored citizens understand the *personal* politics as well as those directly connected with the questions now affecting them. The next struggle will be between the Industrial interests of the land on the one hand, and those which may be classed under the general head of Capital. There is need of watching closely and working hard.

Interest centers in the Supreme Court and the Senate Chamber. It is confidently believed that on one or the other of the two cases appealed from District Courts of Alabama and Texas, the conservative majority of one will find occasion to render an opinion in relation to the present *status* of the States now unrepresented in Congress. The Texas case relates to the right of the present organization to issue bonds, etc.; the Alabama case involves directly the continuous existence of a State. The present session of the Court will last about one month. There can be no case come before this term by means of which a direct test can be had as to the constitutionality of the Reconstruction bill. All such matters only come in an appelate form, and cannot be taken up at the same term in which it may have been decided by the inferior Court.

The Senate is undergoing the softening process by receiving doses of official patronage. Its extraordinary session will doubtless leave the majority in a condition of terrible flatulence. One of the strangest confirmations of late has been that of Jas. B. Steedman as Collector of the First District of Louisiana. It was brought about wholly by the influence of John Sherman. Steedman declares it to be an endorsement of his Freedmen's Bureau report, and is very merry at the expense of Gen. Howard. One of the curious features of the case is, that Steedman is a citizen of Ohio and not of Louisiana. The law regulating the tenure of office expressly says that the appointee shall be a citizen of the State in which he is to serve. The reply of the Johnsonites to this is, that Louisiana, in the estimation of Congress, is not a State. This of course grants the whole position. How can the Senate, however, justify its confirmation of Steedman, a man morally and politically corrupt—one of the readiest tools a despotic will ever had wherewith to execute its interests. Steedman cannot be considered otherwise than a bad man. He has been beset with an ambition to become Secretary of War. His vaunting ambition seems to have fallen many furloughs short of the object to which his aim was directed.

The local organization here of the colored citizens is being well handled, and is conducted with great success. Of course the new voters have a great many more friends than they knew of before. A large number of *quasi* Unionists are nightly busy declaring themselves the best Radicals in the world. They have always been the strongest Abolitionists—oh! yes! So far, however, the colored men seem to understand the ropes quite well, and in several instances these needy adventurers have been well snubbed. Dr. Purvis, son of the esteemed Robert Purvis, of Philadelphia, is an active speaker and organizer. Solomon G. Brown, Chairman of Equal Rights League's Executive Board, is another. Col. Edward Daniel, of Wisconsin, George T. Anthony, Editor of the Leavenworth *Bulletin*, Kansas, and the Attorney-General of that State, Gen. Geo. H. Hoyt, have been, by their speaking lending, great interest to the meetings. J. Sayles Bowen, the Postmaster, Col. R. J. Hinton, L. Edwin Dudley, are also working to ensure a thoroughly Radical victory. Tom Florence's paper—the *Constitutional Union*—is doing good service in exposing the pretensions of those old residents here who are now trying to cater for the colored vote. The registration so far shows that the colored vote will have a majority. It is claimed that the entire registered vote will be about 22,000. The former vote was about 9,000. One half of the entire vote will be negroes.

WATCHMAN.

ANOTHER GAIN.

To the Editor of the Standard:

IT is a time for rejoicing in Philadelphia, and I must cheer somew

naturally. Thus it will be with all the rights of juries, voting, etc. And while we hail the present gain with whole-souled joy, we shall pray on and work on, for the future triumphs of the cause of justice and peace.

Gratefully and cordially thy friend, A. H. L.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, March 31, 1867.

We have just now in Boston two specimens of the active zeal aroused in the Unitarian body by the spirited Conference they held, a few months ago, in Syracuse, in your State. The Radical minority in that body commenced, last January, a series of "Radical Lectures on Religion," which are still in course of delivery, on Sunday evenings, at Fraternity Hall, in this city. Lectures have already been given there by Rev. Dr. Bartol, and Rev. Messrs. Abbott, Potter, Finley, Longfellow, Johnson and Towne, and the next speaker, this evening, is to be Rev. Olympia Brown. The course is to consist of sixteen lectures, and the strong interest manifested in hearing them shows a preparation for such teaching on the part of the public.

The great *majority* in the Unitarian church—those who, at the Syracuse annual meeting, reaffirmed the previous year's adoption of a Creed for the expression of their faith—are imitating their Orthodox opponents in the multiplication of religious meetings. They are to hold a daily afternoon service, taking six of their churches or vestries in rotation through the week, and are to provide sermons for the public on Sunday evenings in the Boston Theatre, a building spacious enough to hold twenty-five hundred people or more. Mr. Hepworth, the most popular and rhetorical of their clergy here, is to preach the first four of these discourses, and then they will be continued by others.

The first meeting at the Theatre, last Sunday evening, was a very great success, the house being crammed to its utmost capacity at an early hour, and half as many more people vainly seeking for admission afterwards. A small portion of the audience showed the power of association of ideas by "applause" when the preacher came upon the stage; but this movement immediately and spontaneously subsided, and the remainder of the service passed with as much quiet and decorum as if it had been in a church. The singing was by the congregation, led by a Cabinet Organ. Mr. Hepworth's sermon was praised by the audience, reported in the papers, and widely discussed by the public; the movement is a successful one, and henceforth, probably the Boston Theatre will be as well filled Sunday evening as any evening in the week. Indeed, if the "Suffolk Conference of Unitarian and other Christian Churches" have enterprise enough, they may easily fill one Theatre more every Sunday evening. If they have not already engaged the Museum, or the Continental, or the Howard Athenæum, some other sect will probably do it.

Not that there is no opposition to this movement. One pious paper has already made protest against it. It is said that an Irish beggar, being taken to task by the priest because he never went to church, vehemently declared that he staid away only on account of his "rispict for religion." He could not think of showing clothes so dirty and tattered as his in the holy place. The Boston *Post* shows its "rispict for religion" by protesting against bringing public worship in contact with the "levity and irreverence" customarily belonging to theatrical arrangements—and, it is to be supposed, *properly* belonging to them, or else the *Post* would not advertise their performances. The *Post* thinks that churches are the only proper places for the religious services of Sunday; that they should be kept for that purpose and used for no other; and (apparently) that religion itself should be scrupulously reserved for that time and place, and not wasted on mere business transactions. It seems altogether probable that this opinion of the *Post* is genuine, sincerely held, and faithfully reduced to practice, as far as keeping the week-days clear of religion is concerned; for its columns are kept rigidly secular, not only presenting no theory of religion, but carefully refraining from the practical use of component parts of it, such as truth, candor, justice, fair-dealing. Faults, no doubt, the *Post* has; but it cannot be accused of trying to make religion common and vulgar by mixing it up with worldly affairs.

The graduating class of the Divinity School in Harvard University have invited Rev. Dr. Bartol to deliver before them the annual sermon, on the Sunday evening before next commencement. Considering Dr. Bartol's known preference for a radical and rational theology, this invitation is hardly less noteworthy than those given by former classes to Ralph Waldo Emerson, and to Theodore Parker, to address them on similar occasions.

The operations of practical benevolence in Boston have of late been particularly active in regard to children. A commodious building called the "Children's Mission Home" has just been completed and dedicated in Tremont street. It contains sleeping accommodations for thirty children, with a chapel, and well-furnished offices and school rooms. It is not designed as a permanent home for the destitute children who may be collected there, but as a temporary abode, where they can be kept and instructed until they are removed from the city, and transferred to the care of respectable families. This institution was designed not merely to relieve the needy, but to teach the children of the prosperous their duty to the children of the destitute, and thus train them early in the work of practical charity.

There is a small Temporary Home for Foundling and Deserted Infants under the skilful care of Miss Conyers, in this city; but the greater number of such cases have been sent to the State Alms-houses at Bridgewater and Tewksbury, where most of them die within a year. A plan for making more complete and better arrangements for infants thus destitute has been for some time under consideration, and at the last meeting of the persons interested in it, at the house of Prof. William B. Rogers, an admirable report on the subject was read by Mr. Sanborn, Secretary of the Board of State Charities.

Questions had previously been sent by circular, by this officer, to individuals and chiefs of institutions supposed to be best acquainted with facts on the subject, and the replies of several of these, read to the meeting, were truly interesting and instructive. Then the plan of an Association for the care of foundling and deserted infants was set forth. It was proposed to ask an annual appropriation of $2,500 or more for three years from the Legislature, on condition of the raising of as much more for the purpose by private contribution; the whole to be expended by an incorporated Society, of which every subscriber should be a member; and the corporation annually choosing a board of twenty directors to take charge of the affairs of the Society, and elect all the other officers. It was thought that the expenditure, in this manner, of five or six thousand dollars annually, might preserve the lives of forty or fifty children every year, to be properly cared for and placed in good families when old enough. Fourteen ladies and gentlemen of the highest standing in Boston have consented to serve as corporators of the proposed institution, and the committee making the report were instructed to call a meeting of the corporators for completion of the organization.

The testimony of witnesses, on one side in favor of a license law, on the other of sustaining *and enforcing* the present prohibitory liquor law of Massachusetts, is now all in, and the closing arguments before the Legislative Committee will be made this week. The liquor-dealers seem really to fear the thing is going against them, and have caused the names of their petitioning friends to be printed, to the extent of two newspaper pages, and gratuitously distributed, to make thus, if possible, an impression on the public. They also lay great stress on the testimony of a portion of the clergy in their favor, calling particular attention to the statements of Rev. Dr. Leonard Bacon, Rev. Dr. Todd, Rev. Dr. Nehemiah Adams, Right-Reverend Bishop Manton Eastburn, and others. The friends of temperance display equal zeal, with apparently far greater numbers, and it is to be hoped that we shall soon have the corrupting spectacle of open incitements to rum-drinking removed from our streets, and see legal penalties applied to the drunkard-maker as well as the drunkard, and to rich as well as poor violators of the law. One good effect of the publication of the testimony here given, will be to refute the lying pretences of the rum-sellers and their counsel, that whiskey is a specific against consumption, and that the medical faculty are *agreed* in so representing it. The medical faculty are divided in opinion as to the advantage of a use of whiskey in that disease, as they are upon every other subject; and too many of them give no heed to the consideration that delirium tremens is rather a worse disease than consumption. NORTH.

THE COLORED PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF CINCINNATTI.

To the Editor of the Standard:

The school laws of the State of Ohio have in the course of their existence received so many diverse accretions from the wisdom, or folly, of successive Legislatures as to afford a pleasant field for the research of the student of the anomalous. Some ancient wrote a work on big morals which he supplemented with an additional on little morals, and our legislators have pursued a similar course with the school laws; consequently we have one code of laws for white public schools and another for colored public schools. The school fund of the State is divided *per capita* among the white and colored schools, and in those districts which have a large colored population, we have generally good schools throughout the year; while in the sparsely-populated districts, the schools can be supported for a few months only per year. Such is the general condition of the colored population of Ohio as respects public educational advantages.

In Cincinnati, of which I propose to speak more in detail, the educational position of the colored population, owing to the cause alluded to above, is more favorable than at any other point, excepting such as Cleveland, where the public schools are open to all classes in the State. Our public schools are superintended by a colored board of three members from each of the two colored school districts into which our city is divided—six in all. These directors are elected in June of each year by a special election held, at which the colored male residents of the districts are the only legal voters, and the judges, clerks of the election, etc., are of the same class. We have now schools located in four different portions of the city, own four buildings, three of which are good, substantial brick edifices, two stories in height, and employ over a dozen teachers, all colored, and nearly all formerly pupils in the schools. These are our primary schools.

A few years since there died in this city a man named John J. Gaines. He was a full-blooded negro, and just as proud of the purity of his blood as though it were Saxon. Diligent application overcame many of the disadvantages of limited early education, and gave to John J. Gaines a skill in oratory, which secured for him a commanding influence over the colored population of this city. Mr. Gaines devoted his best energies to the advancement of the colored schools of the city, and to him, more perhaps than to any other man, are they indebted for their present advantages. After the death of Mr. Gaines, the colored citizens of the city testified their appreciation of his worth by the erection of a fine marble monument to mark the spot where his remains were laid to rest.

A few months since, our School Board added a high-school department to our educational facilities, which in honor of the person alluded to above, was named The Gaines High School. Mr. Peter H. Clark, well known as a popular and successful teacher, was elected principal, assisted by competent teachers, and the school has been in successful operation since that time. On Thursday evening last, the school made its first public demonstration, in the way of an exhibition, the exercises consisting of declamations, vocal and instrumental music, dialogues, *tableaux vivants*, a pantomime, etc. The evening was inclement, and the price of admission high; nevertheless, Greenwood Hall was well-filled, and the audience showed no signs of weariness, though the exercises were protracted to nearly eleven o'clock. A young lady presided at the piano, rendering difficult music with precision and taste, who was, only a few years ago, a slave in Tennessee. Many of the performances would compare very well with any I ever witnessed, and the singing was especially fine. Some of the *tableaux* were as follows: The prodigal son, Jephtha's daughter, With the Current, Against the Current, the Old School, and the New School. The two *tableaux* last named were suggested by a discussion on the use of the rod in school, which has been carried on in our daily papers for some weeks, occasioned by a teacher having whipped a boy in school, and being fined for so doing, the judge deciding that the use of the rod was not within the province of the teacher. The old school represents the teacher of the roasted-switch dispensation; the new school, him of the sugar-plum and soothing-syrup. J. C. C.

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

MR. FROTHINGHAM'S SECOND LECTURE.

Rev. O. B. Frothingham gave the second lecture in the course on the Social Condition of Women, now being delivered in his church on Sunday evenings. He began by saying that the question of work was intimately connected with the question of education. The uneducated classes in the community will always be the drudges. Before women can do all the work they are capable of doing, they must receive all the education they are capable of receiving. We are not ready yet to decide what education best befits women, and what best befits men; for, until both are educated equally well, it will be impossible to say what place either may be competent to fill. Men and women are no doubt very different beings in many respects; but how different they are, and to what degree, and in what respects different, can be determined only when both have had the same intellectual advantages. The female intelligence is no more unlike the masculine than the female organization is; and if masculine and feminine bodies are submitted to the same general regulations, why should not the masculine and feminine intellects be? Both breathe the same air physically; why not intellectually? Both bask in the same sunshine bodily; why not mentally? Boys and girls suck the same milk and eat the same article of porridge; why should they not both feed on the same knowledge? It is absurd to say that men and women should not travel over the same fields of literature, as that they should not travel over the same islands and continents; that they must not devour the same sort of books, as that they must not eat the same kind of vegetable. Just as the beef and mutton, the bread and the hominy, go to make girlhood in the girl, and boyhood in the boy, why should not the arts and sciences assimilate according to the same organic law? The very thing we need to know is—what can women assimilate, and what can men assimilate? And this we shall never know till we have tried the most liberal nutriment on both. We are continually talking about man's career, and woman's career; but the career is determined by the capacity, and the capacity is not ascertained, nor can it be at present. By all means, let education be adapted to career; but a general education can alone decide what the career shall be—whether it shall be in-doors or out, scientific or artistical, mechanical or literary. Let the choice of food be left to the appetite, but let the appetite have a large choice of food. There is little reason to think that women would betake themselves, as a general or usual thing, to agriculture, commerce, finance, manufactures, or engineering; but if they should, this action would merely prove that a feminine element was in those pursuits which she was to supply. Are men afraid lest women might do their work better than they themselves do? That fear is a confession that their work must be meant for women; and who would hinder women from doing what they were meant to do? Mr. Frothingham contended that nearly all occupations had their feminine side. Religion had, as the Catholic Church had proved; and Protestant Christendom would be greatly benefited by introducing women into its organizations. Medicine has a large place for women; so has social science; so has public education. But women can do nothing of all this by instinct; they need teaching at every step, as men do. Education holds the key to every kind of employment. Washing and ironing do not come by nature. Plain sewing must be taught. It is an American superstition that cooking comes by nature to all Irish girls; and we are a nation of dyspeptics. Every profession requires training; even the humblest do. Of course, the more lucrative and delicate must. Literature is the easiest; but nimble wits alone carry few to fame or fortune. Art in all degrees requires instruction, severe and long. Come to the occupations which women are supposed to take to naturally; how far will a kind heart go toward making a good nurse? Do the sciences come by instinct? Does logic? Will sympathetic feeling in a feminine teacher dispense with a knowledge of history, philosophy, or language? Another popular superstition would have us believe that women are endowed with genius for housekeeping. Where is the evidence? The good housekeeper needs as much education as an overseer. She should be a chemist, a sociologist, a physician and a metaphysician. Nothing less than an ordinary common-school education is required to qualify women to be good housemaids, to deliver messages, take correct change from the shop man, keep themselves and their mistresses out of trouble. Now, with the immensity of this need for intellectual preparation, contrast the miserable scantiness of the supply. The common-school education taxes the brain too severely, and is not practical enough. The private-school education, with its unconscionable amount of French, its dash of Italian, its snatch of music, its patch of Arithmetic, its muddle of geography and physical science, its confusion of many things undigested and indigestible, prepares the girl for nothing useful, and ends just as her mind is maturing. The special schools are almost all for boys and men. Women are not instructed in book-keeping, in technology, in practical science. They have no divinity schools. The conveniences for the study of medicine are for the male sex. The old countries have, in many respects, the advantage over us. The University of Bologna conferred degrees on women, and was proud to send out Professoresses of Jurisprudence, of Anatomy and Natural Philosophy, of Greek and the Mathematics. More than a century ago courses of medical lectures were delivered to women in Leyden and Paris. The Universities of Gottingen and Giessen gave doctorates to women in the last century; so did the College at Marburg; so did the famous hospital at Berlin. In Paris the Maternité educates young women as midwives. The Sorbonne has instituted concurrent courses of instruction for women, with examinations, degrees and diplomas, and sends out 140 or 150 women, married and single, as duly qualified teachers. Paris has upward of 80 free schools, employing more than 200 mistresses, and educating annually some 15,000 poor girls. All this makes America look small. Thorough education, either for men or women, is not to be had here by any but the very rich. Business with us has in hand the task of developing the material resources of an immense continent. For this, male vigor is demanded, and male vigor in its rude state. Men are educated for their immediate purposes, and as women are not supposed to be concerned in these purposes, their education is omitted. But better times are coming. Mr. Frothingham here spoke of the Western Colleges—Antioch, Oberlin, and the Normal School associated with the Michigan University. He also gave a glowing description of Vassar College, as striking the key-note of education for women in America. Special schools, too, are beginning to grow up and to flourish; schools of Art and practical Science; Medical schools, and schools of Design. What women will become when thoroughly educated, time alone can show. At all events, they will simply become more finely developed women. They will not become men. Education will not produce an immediate crop of Maria Theresas or Elizabeths; of Eloises or Hypatias; of Miss Blackwells or Miss Zakrzewskas; of Maria Mitchells, Rosa Bonheurs or Harriet Hosmers; but it will enable those who must work to find work, and to do it well; it will give those who are not compelled to work a refuge from idleness and ennui. It will make all women better talkers, more interesting companions, more intelligent associates, more capable housekeepers, more competent mothers, more influential wives, more significant members of society. It may be the fault of men that women are not better educated, but it is at least as much the fault of women. When "ladies," so-called, shall feel that intelligence is a glory and not a shame, that culture is an honor, and knowledge a praise; that industry is more respectable than idleness, and that self-supporting occupation is more creditable than languishing ease, then the doors of academies will fly open; the avenues to honest labor will be thronged by eager aspirants; feminine talent will come fairly into the market; women will be healthier for being more comprehensively developed, and the weaker sex will become in society the power it is ordained that it shall be.

LETTER FROM ASA FAIRBANKS.

PROVIDENCE, March 23d, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

The STANDARD of this date gives the important news that the Legislature of Pennsylvania has passed the bill abolishing the barbarous practice of turning colored people out of the city cars in Philadelphia. The bill had slept quietly in the house so long after its passage through the Senate that I began to think it might sleep the sleep of death. Those who opposed it by hisses and jeers, I hope may live to be ashamed of their conduct. They have a record which their children will some day wish might be blotted out, and how long will it be before the managers of the city railroad cars will be ashamed that they have so long and so wickedly treated the colored people. Who will think of being troubled at the presence of colored men and women in the cars after the law has been in operation one year?

For ten consecutive years, the people of color and their friends prayed our Legislature to abolish cast schools in this city and Newport before they succeeded, and now the work is done, we hear nothing about it—all is peace and quietness. The colored children are seen with white children going and returning from school, and visitors will see in some schools a half a dozen colored children, and in some two or three times that number—perhaps a score or more. It would be thought now the most ridiculous nonsense if any one should propose to change it back; and if some one should collect the speeches made by members of the Legislature of the School Committee, some of them ministers and some deacons of churches, in opposition, and publish them, would they not feel mortified and ashamed to see them in print. Indeed they would pay a price to have them smothered out of sight.

What ails your Assembly? It seems they have not yet finished the Convention bill. Are the Republicans blind, or rather ignorant of their own blindness? Don't they want the colored mens' votes to keep them in the ascendancy? What is justice and right? I conclude they think little about it. If they would lay aside selfishness and expediency, they would act promptly, regardless of consequences, not doubting the result would be good; but politicians will be politicians, and they are numerous. Independent, upright statesmen are few. The people should try to elevate the latter and reject the former.

A. FAIRBANKS.

THE FRANCHISE FOR COLORED CITIZENS.

MR. SUMNER'S BILL.

A BILL to enforce the several provisions of the Constitution abolishing slavery, declaring the immunities of citizens, and guaranteeing a republican form of government, by securing the elective franchise to colored citizens.

Whereas the Constitution of the United States abolishes slavery everywhere within the jurisdiction thereof, so that all constitutions, laws, or regulations of any State or Territory in aid of slavery, or growing out of the same, are null and void; and whereas the same Constitution, in another provision, recently adopted, declares that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States;" and whereas, also, Congress is empowered by appropriate legislation to enforce these several provisions, which cannot be done without securing the elective franchise to citizens who have been slaves, or who are the descendants of slaves, or who are deprived of equal rights by reason of race or color; and whereas, further, it is expressly declared in the Constitution that the United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government, and it is plain that any inequality of rights is inconsistent with a republican form of government and the promises of the Declaration of Independence: Now, therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That every citizen of the United States, although he may have been a slave or is the descendant of a slave, or by reason of race or color is deprived of equal rights, shall, in every State and Territory, have the right to vote at all elections for members of Congress, for presidential electors, for Representatives and Senators to State or territorial legislatures, for all State, county, city, town, and other officers of every kind, upon the same terms and conditions, and no others, as white citizens are and may be allowed to vote; and every provision of every State and territorial constitution, statute, and ordinance which is now or hereafter may be enacted, and every custom and principle of law heretofore recognized in any State or Territory, contrary to the foregoing provisions, are hereby declared null and void.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That any person who shall wilfully hinder or obstruct, or attempt to hinder or obstruct, any citizen once a slave, or the descendant of a slave, or not belonging to the so-called white race, from voting at any election where he is entitled to vote according to the provisions of the foregoing section, shall be punished by a fine not less than one hundred nor more than three thousand dollars, or by imprisonment in the common jail for not less than thirty days, nor more than one year.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That any person holding or conducting any election to which the first section of this bill is applicable, who shall wilfully refuse to receive, count, return, or otherwise give the proper legal effect to the vote of any citizen once a slave, or the descendant of a slave, or not belonging to the so-called white race, shall be punished by a fine not less than five hundred nor more than four thousand dollars, or by imprisonment in the common jail for not less than three calendar months, nor more than two years.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That the district courts of the United States within their respective districts shall have exclusive jurisdiction of all offences committed against this act; and the district attorneys, marshals, and deputy marshals of the United States, the commissioners appointed by the circuit and territorial courts of the United States, with powers of arresting, imprisoning, or bailing offenders against the laws of the United States, the officers and agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, and every other officer who may be specially empowered by the President of the United States, shall be, and they are hereby, specially authorized and required, at the expense of the United States, to institute proceedings against any person who shall violate the provisions of this act, and cause him to be arrested and imprisoned or bailed, as the case may be, for trial before such court of the United States or territorial court as by this act has cognizance of the offence.

Sec. 5. And be it further enacted, That any citizen once a slave, or the descendant of a slave, or not belonging to the so-called white race, if he shall be unlawfully deprived of his vote, may maintain a suit against any person so depriving him, and recover damages in any district court of the United States for the district in which such person may be found.

LETTER FROM CHARLES E. MOSS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 29, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

The XLth Congress is now wrangling over the question of adjournment. The Senate is desirous of adjourning over until December, while the House thus far, has insisted upon a session some time the ensuing Summer. The Senate finally sent down to the House a proposition, to adjourn to the first Wednesday in July, and then, unless ordered otherwise, to further adjourn over to December. The House refused assent to that proposition and asked a Committee of Conference. That Committee disagreed. The House to-day passed a resolution to adjourn to the first Wednesday in July, and then if after calling the roll daily for five days, either House should be without a quorum, the two Houses to be adjourned until December. The opinion is generally entertained that the Senate will concur in that resolution. If not, the Senate will probably notify the President of the disagreement, and the two Houses will be prorogued until December.

There are a number of members of the House that desire to shield their own short-comings behind an impeachment. No impeachment will take place unless some new act of the President shall provoke it. A Congress that clothes an Executive Magistrate with dictatorial powers over one-third of this nation, will present a sorry appearance in ordering that magistrate impeached. No sane or honest man could for a moment have a particle of confidence in the honesty of such a proceeding if undertaken by such men. After having passed over the veto of the President, the Military Reconstruction bill, clothing that officer with absolute power over the lives and persons of ten millions of people, and then again authorizing him to manage, regulate, direct and control the elections in ten States. It is folly sublimed to madness, to talk of impeaching him. The Republican party in Congress has disappointed the expectations of the people and given the lie to every profession and promise made in the recent elections.

In those elections they gave the people to understand, that they would organize loyal republican governments in the ten States recently in rebellion. They have violated that promise by reorganizing as loyal provisional governments, the present rebel State organizations, and placing military officers over the country with power to dragoon the people into obedience to rebel rule. For say what you may, that is the true interpretation of the Reconstruction bill of the XXXIXth Congress. The party pledged to the people to remove the criminal occupant of the White House, and have kept that pledge by giving him absolute and unlimited control over the organizations and elections in the recently rebellious States. That party declared the President criminal and unfit to be trusted, and then thrusts power upon him in spite of his remonstrances, such as no man in an enlightened government of law ever before had placed in his hands, such powers as despots have heretofore only been able to obtain by force of arms. The truth is, if Mr. Johnson is not a great deal more honest and patriotic than the Republican party represent him to be, the liberties of this nation are very short lived. If the President does overthrow republican institutions in America, it will be by the aid and action of the Republican members of the XXXIXth and XLth Congress. They have certainly voted him the material and power of doing so.

That the people may see how silly their Representatives can act, they have only to read a section of the Army Appropriation bill. In that bill they provide, the General in command of the army shall not leave Washington City without consent of the Senate. Under such a state of affairs, the President, if corrupt, can manage to place his tools in command in all the prominent points of the nation, and no power is left Gen. Grant to leave the City of Washington to look after the interests of the Republic, or check a conspiracy, until too well organized to be resisted. Or suppose, during the recess a foreign war should break out, and some distant point be invaded, Gen. Grant cannot be sent to command the troops, until a majority of a Senate, composed of men destitute of military knowledge, consent to it.

Moore foolish still is the provision that the General shall not be arrested without consent of the Senate. Suppose he was found guilty of treason during vacation of the Senate. The President cannot order him under arrest until he can first assemble the Senate in extraordinary session, and get a majority of the Senators to consent to it. Neither can Gen. Grant leave Washington for any purpose without consent of the Senate. Such legislation is supremely ridiculous, and none but malignant partisan demagogues would ever think of passing it. The XXXIXth and XLth Congress are literally "swindling" Congresses. They have, so far, proved false to principle, and false to all their professions of fidelity to freedom and progress.

By adopting a simple Constitutional Amendment providing for conferring the right of suffrage upon every citizen, without distinction of race, or sex, or color, unconvicted of crime and of lawful age, the Republican party would have proved itself the party of freedom. By failing to do so, it has lost the confidence of the people, and cannot expect to win victories in the contests of 1868. A pure radical democracy, led by better men than broken down know-nothings, and bankrupt compromizing Whigs, always afraid to act until forced to do so by an outraged people, will enter the contest of 1868 and win the battle. That radical democracy will adopt as its rallying cry, "No States or national constitutions with the words 'white male,' as a qualification for electors and holding office." It will be what its name indicates, a "Radical Democracy," recognizing all the governed as entitled to participate in elections, and making of the laws. It will oppose all class legislation, whether applicable to race, color, or sex.

CHARLES E. MOSS.

I find a P. S. to my letter of last week a necessity. The admission of the colored people into our city cars is not unattended with opposition and insult. I have seen ladies, so called, move away from them, and say, "We will let you sit beside your friends."

On some of the routes quite a number refuse to enter the cars when colored people are in, or leave them when they are admitted. Thus the secession spirit is active even here, and no wonder we do not have Sunday cars and other necessary conditions of peace and prosperity. We may well say, When will we get out of work? A. H. LOVE.

Philadelphia, 4th mo. 2, 1867.

THE POET'S FUNCTION.

To the Editor of the Standard:

I NOTICE in THE STANDARD of January 19th a review of the poems of John A. Dorgan. I wish to say a few words—not of the poet, but with reference to a part of that criticism, which seems to me peculiarly unsound. I refer to the theory that the true poet must be wholly an idealist, that and the quality of his verse must deteriorate in so far as he devotes his gift to truth, to justice, and the work of redemption among men.

I think this is a false view of the matter, and that it will do an injury to truth, inasmuch as it is skilfully presented, and will doubtless be widely circulated among young writers and poets, to whom we look for cheer and help in the great work of these "latter days."

"Never," says the preacher, "was there such imperative need of all the Heavenly Powers;" yet we are told that the poet must sing of beauty alone, that his work is in the ideal world, and not among the jarring discords of reform. Your critic refers to Paradise Regained as illustration of his theory. I do not deny the evident falling off of inspiration in that poem; but let us look at some others, especially of our own poets of to-day,

I think that no nobler lesson has been taught in human language than those which we find in "The Vision of Sir Launfal." Yet is the wondrous grace of Lowell marred or dimmed in that exquisite poem?

And in those poems of Whittier dedicated to freedom alone, how does that rare and thrilling music rise and swell with the theme, till the strain seems less of earth than heaven. Who can love a poet *less* because he comes with bowed and reverent head to the altar, and gives his gift to the Lord? If a poet dedicates his powers to what he calls "the eternal beauty alone," is it not as if a mother should say, "God has given me a fair and beautiful child; he shall not be defiled by the common uses of life. I will adorn him with all loveliness. All men shall worship his beauty; but it is not for such as he to 'clothe the naked or deal his bread to the hungry?'" Oh, believe me, young poets, wherever you are, God requires at your hands *all* that you can do for His poor, and for His cause on earth. If it is great and blessed to be a poet, how much greater and more blessed to be poet and apostle too! It is for you, young poets, with your great gifts, your "heavenly powers," to exalt the common soul, to shed a wondrous glow on common life, and to help poor, suffering humanity in all its bitter lot.

"Never did Poesy appear
So full of heaven to me, as when
I saw how it could pierce through pride and fear
To lives of coarsest men."

Early and reverently consecrate your beautiful and heaven-born powers to some noble service, and you shall realize how richly may be fulfilled that Scripture: "He who *giveth* to the poor *lendeth* to the Lord."

B. T. M.

THE LAST WAIL OF SLAVERY!

I MIGHT as well state my own experience in relation to slavery in a few simple words. At the beginning of the war I owned eighteen slaves, or rather I was owned by eighteen slaves (laughter), for I had to do a great deal more work than any of them did. I had two men that enlisted; and I will state the circumstances under which I became their owner. I owned the wife of one and his children. His wife and he importuned me to purchase him. I did buy him for the sum of $1,000; and in a year or two he went free because he enlisted into the army and became a soldier. He never reimbursed me for the amount of money which I paid for him.

I had another man who enlisted in the army. I bought him when he was some six or seven years of age, and I made a house-boy of him. Like all house-boys, he did not do much work. Well, sir, after awhile the war commenced; the drum beat; and it summoned recruits, and negro recruits. This young fellow, that I had given $600 for when he was six or seven years old, took it into his head that he would turn soldier; and he did turn soldier. Now, I ask you, sir, if I have not a claim upon my country for the bounty which it promised me?

But that is not all. I have not got done with my experience in relation to slaves yet. This boy had a mother, and he induced his mother to desire to have the same home. Upon his importunity and her importunity I purchased her; and I gave $900 for her. Well, she was a young woman and was having children, and she had four or five children, during which time anybody who knows anything of raising negroes, and family negroes, will know she was not of much value to me. She had a free husband, who lived pretty much upon me. (Laughter.) He used to come there every night, burn my fuel all night, and eat my bacon, corn, and potatoes. (Laughter.) After awhile he took it into his head that he would become a soldier, too. He did so. She had four likely young children. She had never rendered me as much service as would pay her expenses; but under the bill of the honorable Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Wilson), freeing the wives and children of soldiers who went into the army, her husband came and claimed that she and all her children were free; and away they went. (Laughter.)

Then this man that I bought for $1,000 had a wife. I raised her. Some I bought; some I raised; some I inherited. His wife was a very valuable woman; exceedingly so. She was of value beyond money. I have seen the day when I could have got $2,000 for her. I never doubted after the war commenced that emancipation of the slaves would ensue. I told my neighbors and friends it would be so. I saw that it would come. I told some Union men who were very much attached to slavery, "If this war is made, instead of securing slavery it will result speedily in its overthrow, and the Northern men will soon arm your own slaves and turn them in hostile array against you, your wives, and your children." I never doubted it. I could have sold my slaves then for large sums of money; but my slaves were not for sale. They were my family. I had raised them. Next to my wife and children they were the dearest in the world to me; and I would have protected them, and have protected them, next to my wife and children. I knew that emancipation would come. If I had been operated upon by the mere matter of lucre, I would then have sold these slaves; but there were no considerations connected with earth or with life that would have induced me to sell them.—*Garret Davis in the U. S. Senate.*

LITERARY.

Ecce Deus, written in opposition to the (supposed) "rationalistic tendency" of *Ecce Homo*, contains the following peculiar and remarkable passages.

The fatherly instinct of the human race, to which Christ himself appealed, instantly, without flutter or misgiving, says—"If God calls all men, and yet determines that only a few shall come, if he mocks men by offering gifts which he has rendered them powerless to accept; if he makes some men vessels of dishonor, and then breaks them to peices because they are not vessels of honor; if he can sit on his judgment-seat, and see men going down to hell because he determined from all eternity that they should not go to heaven; if when he says 'whosoever' he means but a few—then let all honest and noble men leave him alone in his hateful heaven, and go down to hell in company with poor injured creatures who have deserved better at his hands." This is the conclusion of that very instinct of parenthood which Christ himself challenged in the interest of the divine government.—p. 32.

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It has been suggested, by the narrowest and hardest school of theologians, that God may, as a sovereign, damn anybody without being held accountable, or without giving any shadow of reason to his creatures. This, however, is a notion which proceeds upon a mistaken apprehension alike of divine and human nature. There is not only a fallacy, but a falsehood, in the very heart of such a representation. God himself *cannot* so act with *moral* beings. In proportion as any creature is endowed with the moral element, in that proportion is the sovereighty of God limited in relation to that being when debated questions arise between the creature and the Creator. It is by virtue of the moral element that man stands upon a common plane with God. Sovereignty is a matter of power over forces and events which do not come within the sphere of responsibility. —p. 33.

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The Holy Spirit, as becomes his nature, stands in the line of the intellectual faculties, elevating them, purifying and strengthening them, and giving them new power of investigation and appliance. Distinctively, then, this is the dispensation of the Spirit, the age of mind, the era of reason. It does not follow, though, that reason has completed her education; and by so much as reason is incomplete it must be carefully distinguished from understanding. The danger which some persons apprehend from what is termed Rationalism arises from a confusion of terms. Reason is an instrument, Understanding is a result. In proportion as Reason is educated, a prudent hesitation marks all its processes. Philosophy is more tolerant than ignorance. He who knows most of the strength of the human mind knows most of its weakness. Truth has nothing to fear from rationalism, but from irrationalism. The era of reason is preliminary to the age of understanding.—pp. 81, 82.

DAVID COPPERFIELD, the third of the series of the "Diamond Edition" of Dickens's complete works, has appeared. It contains sixteen illustrations by Etynge, all faithful to the author's personations. Many who have not read the book for years will find pleasure in reviewing it, by the aid of these illustrations which recall the main points of the story. Perhaps no one of Dickens's works is so often quoted as this. Mr. Micawber ever hopefully "waiting for something to turn up." Peggoty and Barkis, Dora—the child-wife, and Uriah Heep, are characters too frequently reproduced in real life to be easily forgotten. We are glad to learn that the Diamond Edition proves a decided success for the publishers, Ticknor & Fields, Boston.

Wendell Phillips's

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WENDELL PHILLIPS is Special Editorial Contributor.

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NOTICE.

The subscriber would here state that he has disposed of his entire stock of Vines and Wood of the Salem Grape to J. L. Waring, of "Amenia Vineyard," Amenia, Dutchess county, N. Y., to whom all orders for the same must hereafter be addressed. Salem, Mass., March 2, 1867. E. S. ROGERS.

The undersigned will dispose of a few layers of the Salem, with two eyes, at $5 each, and next Autumn be prepared to supply One Year Old Vines in quantity. The demand for this valuable Grape will be large, it is therefore advisable for those who wish to secure them to apply early.

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A clear blue eye,
And clustering curls of sunny hair,
Too fair to die.

Only a year—no voice, no smile,
No glance of eye,
No clustering curls of golden hair,
Fair but to die!

One year ago—what loves, what schemes
Far into life!
What joyous hopes, with high resolves,
What generous strife!

The silent picture on the wall,
The burial stone,
Of all that beauty, life and joy,
Remain alone!

One year—one year—one little year,
And so much gone!
And yet the even flow of life
Moves calmly on.

The graves grow green, the flowers bloom fair
Above that head;
No sorrowing tint of leaf or spray
Says he is dead.

No pause or hush of merry birds,
That sing above,
Tells us how coldly sleeps below
The form we love.

Where hast thou been this year beloved?
What hast thou seen?
What visions fair, what glorious life,
Where hast thou been?

The vail! the vail! so thin, so strong!
'Twixt us and thee;
That mystic vail, when shall it fall,
That we may see?

Not dead, not sleeping, not even gone,
But present still,
And waiting for the coming hour
Of God's sweet will.

Lord of the living and the dead,
Our Saviour dear!
We lay in silence at thy feet
This sad, sad year!

—*Mrs. Stowe's Religious Poems.*

EDUCATION.

JOHN STUART MILL'S ADDRESS ON TAKING THE RECTORSHIP OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREW.

From the Pall Mall Gazette, Feb. 2.

MR. JOHN STUART MILL delivered his inaugural address yesterday, at St. Andrew's, on taking the position of Rector of the University. About 190 students were present. The Vice-Chancellor opened the proceedings with prayer in Latin, and afterwards administered the University oath. The Rector was then invested with the oath of office, after which the Vice-Chancellor presented him with the degree of Doctor of Laws. Mr. Mill then delivered his address on the subject of university education, which occupied about two hours. He dwelt at the outset on the proper function of a university in national education, maintaining that it was not to teach the knowledge required to fit men for some special mode of gaining their livelihood, but to make them capable and cultivated human beings. Noticing next the question whether education should be classical or scientific, he said the question seemed to him very like a dispute whether painters should cultivate drawing or coloring, or, to use a more homely illustration, whether a tailor should make coats or trousers. He could only reply by the question, Why not both? Could anything deserve the name of a good education which did not include literature and science too? If there were no more to be said than that scientific education teaches us to think, and literary education to express our thoughts, should we not require both? and was not any one a poor, maimed, lopsided fragment of humanity who was deficient in either? If all the improvements in the mode of teaching language which were already sanctioned by experience were adopted into our classical schools, he thought we should soon cease to hear of Latin and Greek as studies which must engross years and render impossible any other acquirements. He did not agree with those reformers who would give a regular and prominent place in the school or university course to modern languages. The Rector went on to direct attention to the advantages of the study of classical literature, in the discipline which it gave to the intellect, the encouragement and help which it afforded in the pursuit of truth, and in the foundation which it laid for ethical and philosophical culture. In concluding his remarks on this subject, the Rector referred as follows to the mode of classical instruction in English classical schools: For all these reasons, I think it important to retain these two languages and literature in the place they occupy as a part of liberal education—that is, of the education of all who are not obliged by their circumstances to discontinue their scholastic studies at a very early age. But the same reasons which vindicate the place of classical studies in general education, show also the proper limitation of them. They should be carried as far as is sufficient to enable the pupil in after life to read the great works of ancient literature with ease. Those who have leisure and inclination to make scholarship, or ancient history, or general philosophy their pursuit require much more; but there is no room for more in general education. The laborious idleness in which the school time is wasted away in the English classical schools deserves the severest reprehension. To what purpose should the most precious years of early life be irreparably squandered in learning to write bad Latin and Greek verses? I do not see that we are much the better even for those who end by writing good ones. I am often temped to ask the favorites of nature and fortune whether all the serious and important work of the world is done that their time and energy can be spared for these *nugæ difficulties?* I am not blind to the utility of composing in a language as a means of learning it accurately. I hardly know any other means equally effectual. But why should not prose composition suffice? What need is there of original composition at all, if that can be called original which unfortunate school boys, without any thoughts to express, hammer out on compulsion from mere memory, acquiring the pernicious habit which a teacher should consider it one of his first duties to repress—that of merely stringing together borrowed phrases? The exercise in composition most suitable to the requirements of learners is the most valuable one of retranslating from translated passages of a good author; and to this might be added what still exists in many continental places of education, occasional practice in talking Latin. The Rector then dwelt upon the indispensable necessity of scientific instruction as a process of training and discipline, to fit the intellect for the proper work of a human being, the ascertainment of truth; and showed that while mathematical science afforded a conclusive example of what could be done by reasoning in the ascertainment of truth, so the physical sciences which are not mathematical, such as chemistry and purely experimental physics, showed us, in equal perfection, the other mode of arriving at certain truth by observation in its most accurate form, that of experiment. He also commented on the value of logic as a part of intellectual education, declaring, as that science did, the principles, rules, and precepts of which the mathematical and physical sciences exemplified the observance. After passing in review and pointing out the value of the studies of physiology, psychology, political economy, jurisprudence, and international law, the Rector proceeded to notice the subject of professorial instruction in moral philosophy, expressing the wish that it were more expository, less polemical, and, above all, less dogmatic. Passing next to religious education, the Rector spoke as follows on the relation of education to religion: The only really effective religious education is the parental—that of home and childhood. All that social and public education has in its power to do, further than by a general pervading tone of reverence and duty, amounts to little more than the information which it can give; but this is extremely valuable. I shall not enter into the question which has been debated with so much vehemence in the last and present generation, whether religion ought to be taught at all in universities and public schools, seeing that religion is the subject of all others on which men's opinions are at variance. On neither side of this controversy do the disputants seem to me to have sufficiently freed their minds from the old notion of education, that it consists in the dogmatic inculcation from authority of what the teacher deems true. Why should it be impossible that information of the greatest value on subjects connected with religion should be brought before the student's mind, that he should be made acquainted with so important a part of the national thought, and of the intellectual labors of past generations, as those relating to religion, without being taught dogmatically the doctrines of any church or sect? Christianity being a historical religion, the sort of religion which seems to me most appropriate to a university is the study of ecclesiastical history. If teaching, even on matters of scientific certainty, should aim quite as much at showing how the results are arrived at as at teaching the results themselves, far more, then, should this be the case on subjects where there is the widest diversity of opinion among men of equal ability, who have taken equal pains to arrive at the truth. This diversity should of itself be a warning to a conscientious teacher that he has no right to impose his opinions authoritatively upon a youthful mind. His teaching should not be in the spirit of dogmatism, but in that of inquiry. The pupil should not be addressed as if his religion had been chosen for him, but as one who will have to choose it for himself. The various churches, established and unestablished, are quite competent to the task which is particularly theirs—that of teaching each its own doctrines, as far as necessary to its own rising generation. The proper business of a university is different; not to tell us from authority what we ought to believe, and make us accept the belief as a duty, but to give us information and training, and help us to form our own belief in a manner worthy of intelligent beings, who seek for truth at all hazards, and demand to know all the difficulties, in order that they may be better qualified to find, or recognize, the most satisfactory mode of resolving them.

After alluding to the more purely English question of how long a man may stay in the English Church after he begins to question the articles, Mr. Mill proceeded to speak of the culture which comes through poetry and art, and concluded his address as follows: And now, having travelled with you over the whole range of the materials and training which a university supplies as a preparation for the higher uses of life, it is almost needless to add any exhortation to you to profit by the gift. Now is your opportunity for gaining a degree of insight into subjects larger and far more ennobling than the minutiæ of a business or a profession, and for acquiring a facility of using your minds on all that concerns the highest interests of man, which you will carry with you into the occupations of active life, and which will prevent even the short intervals of time which that may leave you from being altogether lost for noble purposes. Having once conquered the first difficulties, the only ones of which the irksomeness surpasses the interest; having turned the point beyond which what was once a task becomes a pleasure in even the busiest afterlife, the higher powers of your mind will make progress imperceptibly, by the spontaneous exercise of your thoughts, and by the lessons you will know how to learn from daily experience. So at least it will be if in your early studies you have fixed your eyes upon the ultimate end from which those studies take their chief value—that of making you more effective combatants in the great fight which never ceases to rage between good and evil, and more equal to coping with the ever new problems which the changing course of human nature and human society present to be resolved. Aims like these commonly retain the footing which they have once established in the mind; and their presence in our thoughts keeps our higher faculties in exercise, and makes us consider the acquirements and powers which we store up at any time of our lives as a mental capital, to be freely expended in helping forward any mode which presents itself of making mankind in any respect wiser or better, or placing any portion of human affairs on a more sensible and rational footing than its existing one. There is not one of us who may not qualify himself so to improve the average amount of opportunities as to leave his fellow-creatures some little the better for the use he has known how to make of his intellect. To make this little greater, let us strive to keep ourselves acquainted with the best thoughts that are brought forth by the original minds of the age; that we may know what movements stand most in need of our aid, and that, as far as depends on us, the good seed may not fall on a rock and perish without reaching the soil in which it might have germinated and flourished. You are to be a part of the public who are to welcome, encourage, and help forward the future intellectual benefactors of humanity; and you are, if possible, to furnish your contingent to the number of those benefactors. Nor let any one be discouraged by what may seem in moments of despondency the lack of time and of opportunity. Those who know how to employ opportunities will often find that they can create them, and what we achieve depends less on the amount of time we possess than on the use we make of our time. You and your like are the hope and resource of your country in the coming generation. All great things which that generation is destined to do have to be done by some like you; several will assuredly be done by persons for whom society has done much less, to whom it has given far less preparation, than those whom I am now addressing. I do not attempt to instigate you by the prospect of direct rewards, either earthly or heavenly; the less we think about being rewarded in either way the better for us. But there is one reward that will not fail you, and which may be called disinterested, because it is not a consequence, but is inherent in the very fact of deserving it; the deeper and more varied interest you will feel in life, which will give it ten fold its value, and a value which will last to the end. All merely personal objects grow less valuable as we advance in life; this not only endures, but increases.

A CHILD'S QUESTION.

Under the starlight, Baby Grace,
Lifting her eyes to the Summer sky
Domed with its jewels above her face,
Wondered for what it was hung so high.

Darling, you watched but a month ago
The daily growth of yon lily stalk,
Slowly upraising its cup of snow
Over the narrow and dusty walk.

The folded bud of your life will bloom
In dainty beauty, some day, my sweet!
But earth for her blossoms hath scanty room;
The sun may wither, the storm may beat.

But, nourished alike by shower and shine,
The flower of the soul grows upward still.
Our mortal wisdom can never divine
What heights the spirit may reach at will.

The root that lies in the lowly ground
May blossom and breathe in lofty skies,
Growing away from its narrow bound,
To find in the heavens what earth denies.

—*Our Young Folks.*

HOW A POOR STUDENT LIVES IN GERMANY.

A WRITER in *L'Esprit Nouveau* gives an interesting sketch of German university life. After dividing the body of students into two classes—those who study and those who do not—he proceeds to describe the habits of the former class. "The student who studies lives in a room which can be called 'furnished' only in a Pickwickian sense; two chairs, a bed, a chest of drawers and a writing-desk compose the furniture. Sometimes a gallery of photographic portraits decorates the walls. The traditional long pipe, with many-colored tassels, has disappeared from the wall. The student smokes nothing now but cigars; cigars at two centimes apiece."

Before studying political economy the student practices domestic frugality; he economizes in his eating, the expense of his drinking. He takes a dinner costing seventy-five centimes at seven o'clock in the evening; then he sups at a beer-house on a little pork, and drinks as much beer as the lightness of his purse can afford him. This is the hour of mirth and ease. During the day the student has attended the lectures; he has taken notes with extreme pains, for he loves to parade the beauty of his note-books; and his "lectures," elegantly bound, will figure later on in the study of the savant, and will still have a pleasure for his eye when he is old. At the beer-house they drink their beer, and smoke. The conversation smacks throughout of the serious preoccupations of the day; they criticize the professors, they discuss controverted theses, they enlighten each other on points left a little dark by the lectures. At the German universities the beer-house is a mutual school.

Our writer says:

"When a tourist is strolling along the main street of Heidelberg, on the lookout for students of the University, it is certainly the one whom I have just sketched that he will notice the least. He has nothing in his face, his gait, his exterior to attract attention; he does not wear, drawn rakishly down upon his left eye, an embroidered cap, nor riding boots; his breast is not decorated with many-colored ribbons; a great dog does not scramble at his side. His eye-glasses, and the plaid which covers his shoulders in all seasons, alone distinguish him from a clerk. Nevertheless, this young man, modest, reserved, retiring, represents the science of the future. It is not from the ranks of that brilliant youth, brawling, fond of noise and show, dressed by Kepler, the Dusantoy of Heidelberg, that will come the men of vast knowledge, who will be called to maintain the renown of learned Germany, and whom the Academy will be proud, one day, to count among its members."

SONNETS.

ON SEEING STORY'S BUST OF MRS. BROWNING.

——"Silent with expectation of the song,
Whose master's hand is cold, whose silver lyre unstrung."
—*Adonais.*

I STAND in the presence of a soul
Breathing in marble. Here no baser mood,
Earth-born, disturbs the sacred solitude,
But Thought and Beauty wield their pure control.
The light of genius from all hearts doth roll
The shadow of their sin; the true, the good,
The beautiful, in sweetest sisterhood
Commanding veneration bear the scroll.
Of an undying fame; a woman's love,
A mother's yearning fondness, and the fire
That in a Poet's mind bright songs did move,
Speak from her eloquent dust and still inspire,
And over distant lands and o'er the sea
Comes the acclaim of her loved Italy.

IN silent throngs the people come and go;
No praise of tongue, but tribute of still tears
Her holier meed; and one her spirit hears
Singing in heaven; one bends o'er her now
To feel the starlike glory of her brow,
And one whose face dark lines of sorrow wears,
Weeps 'neath her veil, and one that unawares
Has wandered from the street, is murmuring low:
"How beautiful!" and children come to bless
With sweet, unconscious rapture, drawing nigh
Unto her lips, whose tremulous tenderness
Could kiss the griefs of all humanity.
So mighty is a heart, so deep the power
That lifts us even for one little hour!

EXTEMPORE SPEAKING.

THE following extract is taken from Dr. Osgood's new volume entitled "American Leaves." It is from the article on "Off-Hand" speaking.

"To speak well you must be in *rapport* not only with your own mind, but with your subject and your audience. It is really wonderful that this connection is so rarely complete, and that such mishaps come from its absence. Sometimes you are out of joint with yourself, and your mind seems no more to jump with your tongue than the mind of the man in the moon, and you feel that you have no hold of yourself. Again your thought, although quite active in a certain way, does not enter into the subject, and you are very much like an eager horseman who wants to ride, but finds the horse refusing to be mounted, or when mounted, insisting upon standing still or pitching the luckless rider over his head. Sometimes, moreover, when you and your subject get on very well together, you fail to connect with the audience, and without having any positive quarrel with them, you find yourself as far apart as if they were a thousand miles off. You will use every means to establish the true relation, to keep your own mind ready at your call; to make it dwell faithfully upon such leading principles as are fundamental to all important subjects; and to take vital interest in men, not such as belong to your clique only, but in men as men in all the various tempers and conditions of the common lot. He is happy who masters this connection thoroughly, and agrees with his own soul, his subject, and his audience. He is the good rider who is master of himself, his good steed, and the road, and he goes forth conquering and to conquer.

"Some very interesting and curious phenomena occur when this *rapport* is complete; and some of the signs that spiritualists ascribe to supernatural agency are constant attendants of good extemporaneous speaking. A strange and cheering and powerful influence rises up within the speaker, and is met and quickened by the subject and the occasion. The calmer he is, and the less elevated and blown about by passion, the more profoundly he is inwardly moved. Thoughts and emotions come to him of themselves without painful seeking, and the subject opens itself to him as if it were a part of his own brain or heart. Words and sentences of unusual fitness and beauty come to him of themselves and seem to speak of themselves without fatigue of voice or exhaustion of brain or nerve. A remarkable bond grows up between speaker and hearers; the audience light up with a mild glow, and a limbent brightness almost transfigures each head in the speaker's eye, as at the great Pentecost; while the whole assembly seems to be informed with one life, and the thousand souls are drawn together as one spiritual body.

"I have talked with a great many distinguished extempore speakers, and while they are almost universally reluctant to trust to any marvelous influences, and disposed to insist upon careful thought and frequent and exact writing to guard against looseness and repetition, they allow that there is something in their best oratorical experiences that passes their understanding. Our friend C——, who is unsurpassed by any living preacher in extempore power, alike of language, thought, and tone, affirms that he sometimes, in his best hours, looses all conscious hold upon his mind and speech, and while perfectly sure that all is going on well in his attic, it seems to him that somebody else is talking up there; and he catches himself wondering who under the sun that fellow is who is driving on at such a rate. Carpenter, the physiologist, speaks of what he calls 'unconscious cerebration,' or states in which the brain works without any conscious effort to do it, and without any consciousness of what it is doing of itself, as when a man wakes in the morning and finds his thinking much in advance of where he left it when he went to sleep, or even some hard problem solved or knotty questions answered. The cause of these phenomena undoubtedly lies somewhere in those organs that are allied to the heart and stomach and lungs, and are moved by the sympathetic nerves, so as to be more automatic than voluntary, more powers of nature than of volition. How far this involuntary action can be extended, and how far carried up into the higher plane of intelligence and activity, we cannot say; but it is evident that whatever partakes of the character of habit partakes of this power, for habit, however painfully formed, becomes a second nature, and is automatic, or goes of itself.

"This automatic action rids the extempore speaker of much care, anxiety, and toil, and carries him forward through much of his work without solicitude or conscious effort; but it is full of dangers, and if he trusts wholly to it he loses his higher inspiration and force, and sinks down into an automaton, like a barrel-organ, that, when wound up, can play over all its old tunes. Some speakers and hosts of talkers are spoiled in this way, and they think themselves inspired because by practice they have so much of the 'gift of the gab' that they can run on without limit and without fatigue, until all but themselves are tired out. The good speaker may cultivate and use this automatic power; but he must never trust wholly to it, nor even be satisfied unless in everything he does he is conscious of putting forth some fresh effort and earnest thought, and rising higher than before, instead of drifting away upon the easy level, or floating down the still easier descending current. He may, perhaps, through constant striving and interior faith, make such connections with the Supreme Wisdom and Will as to rise into a higher region of light and peace, and so partake of a motion and a rest that are not of himself or of nature, but of God. Great eloquence has always something of this character, and all great words come from and return to the World Eternal."

WHY ARE SERMONS DULL?—The main reason, we take it, is that given in a rather coarse form in the common proverb that you can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear. A large portion of the clergy cannot be otherwise than dull when they preach, simply because it is not in them. Their speeches are dull, their letters are dull, their conversation is dull, except when you want actual information from them which they happen to possess. We are not speaking in contempt in saying this. We merely mean that, with the sources of intellectual excitement so abundant as they now are on every side, the merely average man can hardly expect to speak continuously upon any subject in a way to interest any intelligent listener. Let any one who has been at college try to recall to his mind the average capacity of those of his companions who have taken orders, and then remember that these same men represent for the most part that *educated* portion of the clergy whose gradual supersession by the literates is becoming a subject of such constant complaint that we think he will hardly wonder at the average sermon not being a very thrilling performance.—*Saturday Review.*

PRINTERS AND NEWSPAPERS.

AT a printers festival held in Buffalo recently, an able address was delivered, from which we make the following extracts which contain a volume of truth:

PRINTERS.

Printers are unlike other classes of men. Their vocation imparts to them an intelligence that does not result from any other business. Dealing with language exclusively, in its combination of letters, words, sentences and paragraphs, they are constantly brought into communion with thoughts and their working, and thus insensibly become imbued with the ideas of those minds whose creations they help to embody into those forms that give them to the world. They literally get grammar at their fingers ends while picking up the types that form sentences that are grammatical. Spelling comes to them as natural as breathing, for they fall into correct orthography from force of habit.

The characteristics of printers are not so favorable to personal thrift as those of other professions. They partake of the nature of artists in some degree, and are generally liberal to a fault, thoughtless of the future and frequently improvident for the present—flush when in a good situation, and dead broke on a tramp. They may be said to be the working Bohemians of the world of operatives.

PRINTER'S DEVILS.

From wild friendless boys in the streets, are made what are called Printer's Devils; next they become printers, and after that sometimes editors, in which capacity they not unfrequently make their mark in the nation and in the world. Dr. Franklin was a most eminent instance in the early days of our country, and Thurlow Weed, Horace Greeley, Simon Cameron, Vice-President Hamlin, Gen. Dix, Speaker Colfax, Gideon Welles, Robert Bonner, Prince Napoleon, Petroleum Vesuvius Nasby and Artemus Ward, are striking examples at the present time.

THE NEWSPAPERS.

How few of the readers of our daily papers, who hurriedly scan their contents, see what the editor says of the general aspect of affairs, run over the telegraphic dispatches, and Congressional reports, look a moment at the collated items of news, just glance at the varied miscellany attractively presented for their perusal, and then see what the "local" has to report of current city intelligence—how few of these, I repeat, have any proper idea of the cost, the labor, and the talent which has been required and employed to present to them the daily luxury as well as necessity—of the newspaper.

Were the pains, sacrifices and expenditures of editors and publishers properly appreciated there would be much less disposition to indulge in faultfinding because this thing is not said exactly right, or that thing is not said at all. People and patrons would be inclined to be perfectly contented with what they now get from the newspaper men, if they only remembered how much less the public got, in that way, thirty or fifty years ago; or if they could imagine such a thing as newspapers not being published hereafter at all. It only needs the latter supposition to point out the consequences that would inevitably follow, in every branch of trade, manufactures, and general business: which would indeed paralyze the whole interests of the country, and clog the wheels of government itself!

THE SKY A DRINKING CUP.

The sky is a drinking cup
That was overturned of old,
That down upon us pours
Its wine of airy gold.

We drink the wine all day,
Till the last drop is drained up,
And are lighted off to bed
By the jewels in the cup.

A WONDERFUL WATCH.—The *Mechanics Magazine* says: "A remarkable mechanical curiosity has recently been constructed in London. It is a watch belonging to a member of Parliament, and designed and made expressly for him by James Ferguson Cole, the celebrated London watchmaker. This unique pocket chronometer has a silver dial, on which are nine hands, indicating respectively the hours, minutes, and seconds, the days of the week, the days of the month, and the months of the year. It corrects itself for unequal months—that is to say, changes when they have thirty and when thirty-one days, and also corrects itself for leap year. It is so constructed that any slight agitation of the watch, such as the ordinary exercise of walking, winds it up. Thus it may be worn and will go perfectly for years without requiring even to be opened, although it can also be wound by a key in the usual manner. The dial is arranged in five circles, and within the largest (the hour circle) there is a semi-circle showing the moon's age and phases by means of gold on a ground of blue steel. At the back of the watch is a gold indicator for ascertaining the time in the dark by touch. The complication of the mechanism may be imagined, and yet the watch is of ordinary dimensions and may be conveniently worn in a gentleman's pocket. It cost the sum of three hundred guineas."

A PROTEST AGAINST INJUDICIOUS EARLY RISING.—Dr. Hall, in the February number of his *Journal of Health*, says: "One of the very worst economies of time is that filched from necessary sleep. The wholesale but blind commendation of early rising is as mischievous in practice as it is arrant folly in theory. Early rising is a crime against the noblest part of our physical nature, unless it is preceded by an early retiring. We caution parents particularly not to allow their children to be waked up in the morning; let nature wake them up—she will not do it prematurely; but have a care that they go to bed at an early hour. Let it be earlier and earlier, until it is found that they wake up of themselves in full time to dress for breakfast. Being waked up early, and allowed to engage in difficult or any studies late and just before retiring, has given many a beautiful and promising child brain fever, or determined ordinary ailments to the production of water on the brain."

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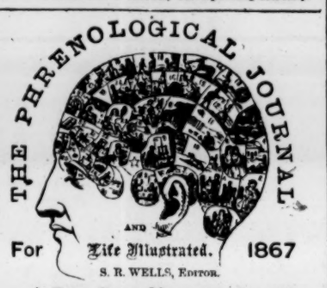
REMOVAL NOTICE.

The office of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society has been removed from No. 5 South Fifth street, to the old stand, No. 107 North Fifth street, where it was formerly located for upwards of twenty years. Specimen numbers of the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD furnished and new subscriptions received as above.

BENJAMIN C. BACON, Corresponding Secretary.



For 1867

S. R. WELLS, EDITOR.

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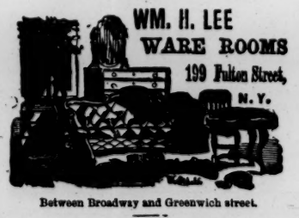

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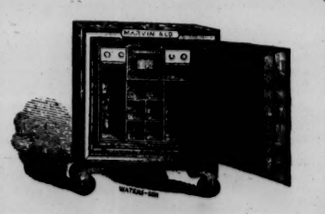

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